Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem
Bölcsészettudományi Kar
Doktori Disszertáció

Nucz Eszter

The cultural shaping of SHAME: A cognitive linguistic study of the concept in two varieties of English

A szégyen fogalma az indiai és az amerikai kultúrában: Egy kognitív nyelvészeti elemzés

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Budapest, 2017

ADATLAP
a doktori értekezés nyilvánosságra hozatalához

I. A doktori értekezés adatai

A szerző neve: Nucz Eszter
MTMT-azonosító: 10050962
A doktori értekezés címe és alcíme: The cultural shaping of SHAME: A cognitive linguistic study of the concept in two varieties of English (A szégyen fogalma az indiai és az amerikai kultúrában: Egy kognitív nyelvészeti elemzés)
DOI-azonosító: 10.15476/ELTE.2017.182
A doktori iskola neve: Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola
A doktori iskolán belüli doktori program neve: Kulturális nyelvészet doktori program
A témavezető neve és tudományos fokozata: Dr. Kövecses Zoltán DSc, professor emeritus
A témavezető munkahelye: ELTE

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Kelt: Budapest, 2017. november 19.

Nucz Eszter
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Table of contents

Tables and Figures

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Zoltán Kövecses, for introducing me to Cognitive Linguistics during the American Studies Master's program at ELTE. His support from the very beginning and throughout the Cultural Linguistics PhD program has been immense.

I am grateful to Éva Illés and Réka Benczes for all their valuable comments on the first draft of the dissertation. I am indebted to everyone who participated at the in-house defense of the dissertation. The ideas and suggestions I received helped me refine the analysis.

I would like to thank Sylvia and Jamal, for helping me with the analysis of the Indian English database. I am grateful for the support of Alex, whom I had the chance to meet in 2007 and who, after 10 long years, has still been prepared to discuss the peculiarities of the American mind.

I am grateful for the proofreading services of translation agencies *Villámfordítás* in Budapest and *Proof-Reading-Service.com* in Hertfordshire.

I would like to thank my friends for being there for me.

My deepest, heartfelt gratitude goes to my family for their continuous, tireless support in all the work that gave birth to this dissertation. They encouraged me in good and in bad times – even in moments when I felt unsure about the project. I would not have been able to prepare this dissertation without having them in my life.

Köszönetnyilvánítás

Köszönettel tartozom témavezetőmnek, Kövecses Zoltánnak, amiért megismertetett a kognitív nyelvészettel az ELTE Amerikanisztika mesterképzés keretében. Kognitív nyelvészeti pályafutásom során mindvégig mellettem állt és ötleteivel támogatta kutatásaimat.

Köszönettel tartozom Illés Évának és Benczes Rékának, amiért a disszertáció első változatát olvasva megannyi értékes javaslatot tettek a végleges változat elkészítéséhez. Tanácsaik nagy segítségemre voltak.

Köszönöm a disszertáció házi vitáján résztvevő hallgatótársaimnak, akik számos ötlettel láttak el a kutatás eredményeinek interpretálására vonatkozóan.

Hálás vagyok Sylvianak és Jamalnak, akik az indiai angol adatok értelmezésében segítségemre voltak. Köszönettel tartozom Alexnek, akivel 2007-ben volt lehetőségem megismerkedni, és aki 10 évvel később, a disszertáció megszületésekor is készen állt az amerikai gondolkodás sajátosságainak megvitatására.

Köszönöm a budapesti Villámfordítás fordítóiroda és a hertfordshire-i Proof-Reading-Service.com szolgáltatásait, hogy a dolgozat véglegesítésében segítségemre voltak.

Köszönöm barátaimnak a rengeteg bíztatást.

A legnagyobb köszönet, teljes szívemből, a családomnak jár, amiért mindvégig mellettem álltak azon a hosszú úton, amely ennek a munkának a megszületéséhez vezetett. Köszönöm, hogy minden döntésemben támogattak és bátorítottak azokban a nehéz pillanatokban is, amikor én elbizonytalanodtam a projekt kivitelezhetőségében. Ez a disszertáció nélkülük nem készülhetett volna el.

Abstract

The dissertation introduces a cross-cultural study that aims to explore how the concept of shame is understood in Indian and American cultures. It is a cognitive linguistic analysis of the emotion built on the argument that human meaning-making activities are simultaneously determined by two key factors: the body and the context. Body-based conceptualization appears to be nearly universal. People, having the same biological bodies, have a common ground in understanding abstract concepts. Bodily experiences serve as a basis of conceptualization because the body operates in a particular environment. However, the potentially universal understanding, because of the sociocultural characteristics of the context, can bear specific forms. The overall aim of the dissertation is to identify the cognitive-cultural models (that is, the folk understanding) of shame in the two target cultures. The focus is on the metaphorical and the metonymical conceptualization, as well as on the potential causes of the emotion. The doctoral research puts emphasis on concepts related to SHAME, which helps in the identification of culture-specific forms of understanding. The findings reveal that although the Indian and the American conceptualizations of the emotion are similar (shame is a negative emotion), there are significant differences (for instance, in the extent to which the avoidance of shame is socially stressed). The differences have roots in the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian and the American contexts. Also, they are potentially related to the dominant philosophies that motivate the conceptualization of emotions in the two contexts (the reason-emotion dichotomy in the American culture vs. the Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics). The dissertation explores SHAME in Indian English and American English linguistic data. As such, it aims to contribute to cognitive linguistic studies that look at the understanding of concepts in nativized varieties of English.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The scope of the dissertation

The aim of the dissertation is to explore how the concept of shame is present and understood in India and the United States. These countries represent two sociocultural contexts, which significantly differ from each other in characteristics that can influence the conceptualization of shame. The results of research in psychology (e.g., Tracey and Robins, 2004b, Tsai, 2007) indicate that the conception of SELF is central to the understanding[1] of the emotion. The concept of the SELF is directly linked to contextual features, for instance, to the socially preferred values, to the prevailing gender relations or to social structure.

In Indian society, the role of the family is central. Individuals are primarily defined in terms of the family and the larger community to which they belong. The identity of the individual is defined by his/her roles in the social group (primarily gender- and age-based roles). This is a context in which characteristics (e.g., conformity, compliance, purity) are valued that help maintain group cohesion, as well as that help protect the name and the honor of the family. These sociocultural features of the Indian context make shame appear as an emotion that has more of a social, rather than simply a physiological, content. As will be discussed in the body of the dissertation, shame appears more like a public emotion in the Indian context instead of being conceptualized as a private experience. The understanding of the concept largely happens more in relation to the group (family and society) than in relation to the individual who experiences shame. In protecting the integrity of the individual (and, thus, the integrity of the family) the avoidance of shame is highly desired. Shame is such a negative experience that a key concept in Indian culture, *lajja*, is built around the importance of preventing shame. The concept of *lajja* is semantically related to the Indian concept of shame (Sinha and Chauhan, 2013). *Lajja* appears to denote a culture-specific meaning of the emotion.

The family is similarly central in American society, but it does not play a primary role in the self-definition of individuals. Individuals are firstly independent beings. Social bonds are valued, but they are of secondary importance in self-definition. In this sociocultural context, there is a need for values that help individuals function successfully on their own. Personal characteristics that serve group cohesion are less desired. As will be discussed in the body of the dissertation, the American concept of shame is largely individualized. The understanding primarily derives from the perspective of the individual. The focus in conceptualization, for instance, is on the physical effects of the emotion the individual experiences and less on the potential effects of one's shame on others. Because shame is a

[1] In line with Johnson (1987), "understanding" is not a reference to rational beliefs but rather to "our bodily, cultural, linguistic, historical situatedness in, and toward, our world" (138).

negative experience, there is a clear preference for the avoidance of the emotion in the American context as well. Compared to the Indian context, however, the need to prevent shame seems to be less of a social requirement as this is not saliently expressed in language.

With respect to emotion conceptualization in general, the folk understanding of emotions is not necessarily the same in the two contexts. Research (e.g., Kövecses, 2000a, 2002, 2014a) indicates that a prototypical folk understanding of emotions in Anglo-American contexts is that emotions are forces that make the person imbalanced and irrational. In terms of other folk theories (e.g., motivated by the Indian Rasa aesthetic theory), however, emotions are forces that attempt to maintain the balance of the person. These are basically opposite approaches to emotions. The folk theories of emotions can be interpreted as contextual factors that potentially lead to differences in the understanding of shame.

In exploring Indian and American concepts of shame, this dissertation applies the analytical tools and the methodology of Cognitive Linguistics. With the analysis of Indian English and American English texts, the dissertation aims to detect the conceptual metaphors and the conceptual metonymies that motivate the understanding of the emotion. Also, it tries to identify which other concepts are related to SHAME in the two contexts. The main objective is to identify the Indian and the American folk understanding (cognitive-cultural models) of shame. Because the Indian and the American contexts are different in terms of sociocultural features that are linked to the conceptualization of shame, the dissertation promises interesting results. Further justification for the research topic is provided in the next section.

1.2. Justification for research

Since the discipline emerged in the 1980s, emotion conceptualization has been a major area of research in Cognitive Linguistics. At first, studies aimed to identify potentially universal aspects of conceptualization. A good example of this is the study of Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) on the concept of anger. Through American English linguistic expressions of anger, the authors identify metonymical and metaphorical conceptions that are motivated by bodily experiences. As such, the conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies the authors find reflect conceptions of anger in the American context, as well as conceptualization that is potentially universal. Then, the scope of cognitive linguistic research has expanded to include cross-cultural investigations as well. In the case of anger, for instance, Kövecses (1995b) compares studies that explore the concept in American, Hungarian, Chinese, and Tagalog cultures. He illustrates that the near-universal forms of conceptualization often have culture-specific forms. Although the number of cognitive linguistic cross-cultural studies has increased, there is a need to conduct further research for the following four reasons:

(1) The majority of cognitive linguistic research into emotion conceptualization to date has examined basic emotions. Among basic emotions, for instance, anger (Kövecses and Lakoff, 1987), fear (Kövecses, 2000a) or happiness (Kövecses, 1991, Yu, 1995) has been explored extensively. There is a need for studies that examine complex emotion concepts, which potentially have specific sociocultural meaning. Examples of such complex emotion concepts are, among others, Japanese *itoshii* (longing for an absent loved one)[2] or Portuguese *saudade* (a combination of love, sadness, yearning and melancholia)[3]. Complex emotions may be "cultural key concepts" with "special, culture-specific meanings [which] reflect and pass on not only ways of living characteristics of a given society but also ways of thinking" (Wierzbicka, 1999b, p. 5). These emotions are believed to be culture-specific and, as such, they seem not to have exact equivalents in other sociocultural contexts.

(2) An increasing yet still small number of cultures have been examined in cross-cultural cognitive linguistic studies of emotion concepts. The majority of studies focus on Anglo-American (mostly American) cultures (e.g., Barceolna, 1986, Holland and Kipnis, 1995, Kövecses, 1995a). Some investigate emotion conceptualization in Chinese culture (Yu, 1995), Spanish culture (e.g., Ogarkova and Soriano, 2014) or German culture (e.g., Stefanowitsch, 2004). The number of unexplored areas exceeds that of the cultural contexts already examined. Cognitive linguistic analyses of emotion conceptualization in many European, South- and Latin-American, African and Asian cultures are yet to be conducted.

(3) As the number of cultures studied to date is relatively low, the list of languages that are the sources of investigation could also be extended. Globalization and particular historical processes (e.g., colonization) lead to a special status of the English language today. English serves as an international *lingua franca* between various nations for general or business-related communication purposes. At the same time, it is present as a local lingua franca in several countries. In its nativized form, it is capable of expressing socioculturally specific meaning (Sharifian, 2010). Only a few cognitive linguistic studies to date have explored meaning construction in varieties of English (e.g., Polzenhagen-Wolf, 2007, Sharifian, 2010). The number of studies exploring emotion concepts in varieties of English (e.g., Güldenring, 2010, Díaz-Vera, 2015) is even smaller.

(4) The majority of cognitive linguistic studies to date have applied intuition-based qualitative methodology. One of the focal points of criticism directed at Cognitive Linguistics is that an introspection-based analysis does not enable the researcher to interpret the results objectively. Criticism is mostly formulated in the field of Corpus Linguistics (e.g., Stefanowitsch, 2007), calling for the need to apply quantitative analytical methods.

[2] Source: Russell (1991)
[3] Source: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/saudade

This dissertation attempts to remedy the four shortcomings listed and, therefore, explores the concept of shame. Shame is a complex, context-dependent emotion. It is complex, because it is both a private and a social emotion. It is context-dependent, because its understanding requires the concept of the SELF, the definition of which is largely determined by the value systems that prevail in particular sociocultural contexts. The Indian concept of shame is linked to the concept of *lajja*, which appears as a key concept in Indian culture (Sinha and Chauhan, 2013). Similarly to Japanese *itoshii* and Portuguese *saudade*, Indian *lajja* does not seem to have an exact equivalent in other cultures. It is a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin "roughly translated as shame, modesty, bashfulness, embarrassment, or timidity" (Bhawuk, 2017, p. 112). The dissertation compares the understanding of shame in Indian and American cultures. The former has not been subject of cognitive linguistic investigations with focus on emotions yet. The dissertation explores SHAME in Indian English and American English linguistic data. As such, it contributes to cognitive linguistic studies that look at the understanding of concepts in nativized varieties of English. Finally, considering the criticism directed at cognitive linguistic methodology, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is used in the doctoral research.

1.3 Research questions and hypotheses

The main objective of this dissertation is to identify the cognitive-cultural models (that is, the folk understanding) of shame in the Indian and the American contexts. That is, the main research questions are the following:

- What cognitive-cultural models of shame can be identified in the Indian and the American contexts? What is the folk understanding of shame in the two cultures?

The dissertation adopts the cognitive linguistic approach to the folk understanding of emotions and argues that cognitive-cultural models are the "joint product of (possibly universal) actual human physiology, conceptualized physiology (metonymy), metaphor, cultural model (with its schematic basic structure) and the broader cultural context" (Kövecses, 1995c, p. 70). Cognitive-cultural models of emotions are scripts that include the cause, the existence and the effect of emotions. They are conceptual categories that encompass concepts related to the emotion. Also, they "evoke a large number of additional concepts in the conceptual system, constituting a domain matrix" (Kövecses, 2014a, p. 23). The cognitive-cultural models provide information about the evaluation of emotions. In order to identify the cognitive-cultural models of shame, the following further research questions need to be raised:

- Which conceptual metaphors motivate Indian and American conceptualizations of shame?

- Which conceptual metonymies motivate Indian and American conceptualizations of shame?
- What other concepts are related to SHAME in the two contexts?
- What are the causes of shame in the two contexts?
- How is shame evaluated? Is it a positive or a negative emotion in the two contexts?

The hypotheses related to the research questions are the following:

1. The main hypothesis in relation to the cognitive-cultural models of shame is that, because of biology-based conceptualization, there are folk conceptions of the emotion the Indian and the American contexts share. At the same time, differences in the sociocultural characteristics of the two contexts lead to different cognitive-cultural models of shame. The sociocultural characteristics that appear to be relevant in the conceptualization of shame are dominant ideologies (i.e., the definition of SELF), the preferred value systems (i.e., collectivist or individualist value systems), the philosophies (i.e., Puritanism, Hinduism, the Rasa aesthetic theory), and the gender and power relations characteristic of the contexts. Indian and American folk theories of emotions can be interpreted as contextual factors that potentially lead to differences in the understanding of shame.

The additional (sub)hypotheses in relation to conceptual tools that comprise the cognitive-cultural models are the following:

2. The cognitive linguistic approach differentiates between near-universal and potentially culture-specific conceptual metaphors. The near-universal conceptual metaphors are generic-level conceptual metaphors (e.g., EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES IN THE CONTAINER), which stem from potentially universal human physiology. As Kövecses (2005) explains, culture-specific metaphorical understanding comes in various ways: (1) the target domain is conceptualized in terms of different source domains across cultures (*alternative conceptualization*); (2) the target domain is understood in terms of the same source domains, but cultures have a preference for one source domain over the other (*preferential conceptualization*); and (3) both the target and the source domain "appear to be unique to a given language/culture" (*unique conceptualization*) (pp. 67-68). The hypothesis of the dissertation is that the Indian English and American English databases illustrate preferential, alternative and unique metaphorical conceptualizations. These have roots in the sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts.

3. Conceptual metonymies of emotion conceptualization typically depict the physiological, physical and the behavioral responses to the emotion. The bodily responses to shame are potentially universal, but differences between contexts can be detected in regard to which bodily reactions are profiled in the metonymical understanding of the emotion. The main

hypothesis in relation to conceptual metonymies is that both identical and different metonymical interpretations can be identified in the Indian English and the American English databases. Conceptual metonymies that turn out to be culture-specific have roots in the features of the Indian and American contexts.

4. In Cognitive Linguistics, the cognitive-cultural models of emotions are scripts. In these scripts, emotions have a causal component. The psychological literature on shame clearly shows that there are many possible causes of this emotion and they are not easy to define. Taking the research results of Tsai et al. (2002) as a basis, namely that the causes of shame are related to the features of the context, it is hypothesized that the language-based analysis of shame refers to causes of the emotion that reflect the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian and the American contexts.

5. The cognitive-cultural models of emotions provide information about how emotions are evaluated. Studies indicate that shame tends to be negatively perceived in "Western cultures" (e.g., Tracey et al., 2007), but positively evaluated in Asian cultures (e.g., Menon and Schweder, 2010, Kitayama and Kurokawa, 2000, Rozin and Cohen, 2003, Li and Fischer, 2004, Scollon et al., 2004). It is hypothesized that the language-based analysis of shame leads to similar results. It is assumed that shame is more a positive concept in Indian culture, while it is a more negative concept in American culture.

6. Concepts closely related to or evoked by emotions are parts of the cognitive-cultural models of emotions. As an illustration, respect and attachment are concepts that "in the ideal case are closely related to the concept of ROMANTIC LOVE" (Kövecses, 1986, p. 74). The dissertation attempts to explore what concepts are related to shame in the Indian and the American contexts. Taking the results of scientific approaches to shame as a basis (e.g., Kaufman, 1989, Lewis, 1995, Gilbert, 1998, Tracey et al., 2007), it is hypothesized that concepts like guilt, embarrassment and morality, which possibly are concepts universally related to shame, will be identified in the analysis. It is further hypothesized that context-specific concepts will be detected. The main assumption regarding the related concepts of shame is that the network of concepts against which shame is understood in the Indian and the American contexts is somewhat different. The difference comes from the sociocultural characteristics of the two contexts.

1.4 Research methodology: A summary

The dissertation combines a quantitative and qualitative analysis of linguistic expressions of shame. The linguistic expressions are collected from American English and Indian English online corpora. The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) is applied in the identification of figurative linguistic expressions. The

metaphorical source domains of SHAME are discussed, with a focus on their "meaning focus" (Kövecses, 2003). The metonymical vehicle entities of SHAME are analyzed in terms of conceptual metonymy types. The systematic mappings of conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies, as well as the types and the salience of their linguistic manifestations help us draw conclusions about the elaboration, productivity, frequency and salience of the metaphors and the metonymies detected in the linguistic data. By examining the broader linguistic context of the linguistic expressions found in the corpora, I identify the potential causes of shame in the Indian and the American contexts. The concepts related to or evoked by shame are identified with the collocation analysis of the linguistic data. I identify Indian and American folk theories of the concept on the basis of the findings about the conceptual metaphors, the conceptual metonymies, the causes and the related concepts of shame. In order to fully explore Indian conceptions of shame, I extend the doctoral research to examine *lajja*, a concept semantically related to the Indian concept of shame (Sinha and Chauhan, 2013). The Hindi word *lajja* (or its synonym, the Urdu word *sharam*) appears in the Indian English linguistic expressions to substitute the word *shame*, or to supplement the intended meaning. The analysis of the concept of *lajja* is based on the linguistic data obtained from Indian English corpora, as well as from a survey conducted with speakers of Indian English living in India. The methodology applied in the dissertation is described in detail in Chapter 5.

1.5 The limitations of the dissertation

This dissertation has to face particular limitations. Most limitations are related to the methodology of the doctoral research. Firstly, the Indian English corpora available today are significantly smaller in size and more limited in terms of the genre of the texts than American English corpora are. As the Indian English corpora available online contain newspapers and blog entries (but not transcripts of spoken texts or texts of contemporary literature, for instance), only texts of the same type could be extracted from the American English corpus as well. Although newspapers and blog entries are examples of contemporary language use, they only represent a segment of that.

Secondly, the database of the research consists of linguistic data in which emotion words (*shame*, *lajja*, *sharam*) denote the target concept (SHAME or LAJJA). Linguistic expressions that illustrate conceptions of shame but do not name the emotion directly fall outside the scope of research. This is obviously a limitation as it may result in the failure to identify important conceptualizations of shame. In order to supplement the findings of the doctoral research, for instance, idioms of shame could be examined. In a complementary research like this, lexical items denoting bodily and behavioral reactions to shame (e.g., blushing) or concepts related to shame (e.g., embarrassment or modesty) could serve as search terms in compiling the linguistic database of analysis.

The linguistic data from the Indian English corpora illustrate the phenomenon of code-switching. This is when speakers use a lexical word from the local language (Hindi word *lajja* or Urdu *sharam*) instead of *shame* in reference to the emotion. In order to fully explore the Indian concept of shame, an examination of the concept denoted by Hindi *lajja* and Urdu *sharam* is required. As there are few such linguistic examples in the Indian English corpora, the corpus-based research is supplemented with a survey-based study about the concept of *lajja*. The combined methodology enables us to collect more information on the concept of *lajja*. It has to be noted, however, that the linguistic data for *lajja* is significantly smaller in size than the linguistic data of *shame*. In the dissertation, the analysis of the Indian concept of *lajja* is based on a limited number of linguistic examples. The literature (e.g., Tarlo, 1996) suggests that the concept of *lajja* is detectable in visual appearance (e.g., in the clothing practices of women). It is assumed that a visual semiotic analysis of the concept of *lajja* could testify and supplement the findings of the doctoral research.

The final limitation of the dissertation is theoretical. In case of studies on culture, when the culture in scope is different from the culture of the researcher, the question arises whether the different cultural background of the researcher is a limitation to the research. Although the objective examination of linguistic data may produce valuable results, it has to be taken into consideration that, lacking first-hand cultural knowledge, the researcher might miss to identify phenomena in the data that would add to the findings about the concept at hand. With this in mind, in exploring the Indian and the American concepts of shame, it is a potential limitation that the researcher was not raised in either of the examined cultures. In order to attempt to compensate this shortcoming, the analysis of *lajja* and the findings about Indian conceptions of shame have been cross-checked with speakers of Indian English from Bangalore. Similarly, the findings about American conceptions have been discussed with New York-based speakers of American English.

1.6 The structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of nine chapters. The present chapter (Chapter 1) clarifies the scope of the dissertation, formulates the research questions and hypotheses, provides a brief summary of the applied methodology, and explains the limitations of the doctoral research. Chapter 2 gives an introduction to the theoretical and analytical framework of the dissertation. It describes the cognitive linguistic approach to conceptual tools that are relevant to Indian and American conceptualizations of shame. In particular, it explores metaphorical and metonymical conceptualization, image schemas, categorization processes and cultural models. Chapter 2 introduces the concept of *cultural cognition* as defined in Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017). Furthermore, it provides an overview of the relevant linguistic approaches to emotion conceptualization (i.e., experientialism, social

constructivism, lexical semantic approach). It explains why the dissertation adopts the approach of body-based constructionism (Kövecses, 2015) to explore the Indian and the American concepts of shame. Chapter 3, first, gives a summary of the psychological literature on shame and, second, provides an overview of cognitive linguistic (or related) studies the results, methodologies or research questions of which have inspired the doctoral research. Chapter 4 identifies the type of context that is considered in the dissertation and, then, describes the features of the Indian and the American contexts that are relevant to the conception of shame. Chapter 5 discusses cognitive linguistic methodology in general, and the methodology applied in the dissertation in particular. Chapter 6 provides a detailed analysis of the conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies of SHAME that are identified in the Indian English and the American English linguistic data. The chapter further discusses potential causes of shame and concepts related to shame, which are identified in the analysis. Chapter 7 presents the analysis of *lajja*, a concept semantically related to the Indian concept of shame. The literature (e.g., Sinha and Chauhan, 2013) and the Indian English linguistic data suggest that shame is associated with *lajja* in the Indian context. Therefore, the investigation of the concept of *lajja* is inevitable in order to fully explore Indian conceptions of shame. The analysis of *lajja* primarily happens through Indian English linguistic data collected with the help of a survey conducted with speakers of India English living in India. Chapter 7 introduces the conceptual metaphors, the conceptual metonymies, the potential causes and the concepts related to and evoked by *lajja* as identified in the analysis of the linguistic data. Chapter 7 further attempts to explore the relationship between the Indian concept of shame and the Indian concept of *lajja*. Chapter 8 introduces the cultural models of SHAME identified in the doctoral research. Chapter 9 discusses the overall findings of the dissertation and lists options of future research.

1.7 Formatting conventions

As per cognitive linguistic conventions, conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, domains, and conceptual categories are indicated in the text by small capitalized letters. Metaphorical and metonymical linguistic expressions are italicized. In the analysis, the systematic mappings of conceptual metaphors and correspondences of conceptual metonymies are italicized. Underscoring is used to highlight lexical items.

Chapter 2: Theoretical and analytical framework

The core argument of the dissertation is that the conceptualization of emotions is simultaneously determined by two key factors: the body and the sociocultural context. The dissertation focuses on both the cognitive and the cultural aspects of meaning construction. As such, in its research focus, it is a *cognitive-cultural* linguistic study. It could also be called a *cognitive* linguistic study in the following sense. For the purposes of analysis cognition and culture can be separated, in practice the two form a coherent whole. As such, the adjective *cognitive* can be interpreted so that it includes both the cognitive and the cultural aspects of conceptualization. As Kövecses (2017) argues, "conceptualization rests on cognition (i.e., a variety of cognitive operations)" but "every act of linguistic (symbolic) practice is both cognitive and cultural at the same time" (p. 308). With respect to theoretical and analytical framework, the dissertation applies a combination of two disciplines, Cognitive Linguistics and Cultural Linguistics.

As a first step, it is important to clarify the relationship of Cognitive Linguistics and Cultural Linguistics. In the literature (e.g., Janda, 2008), these are considered separate disciplines. Yet, because "cognition and culture cannot be separated," in their research practice they are often difficult to distinguish (Kövecses, 2017, p. 308). As Sharifian (2017) explains, because of the common area of research and the overlap of the analytical tools, "several Cognitive Linguists originally working in CMT [Conceptual Metaphor Theory] have made a switch to Cultural Linguistics with relative ease" (p. 52). The two disciplines overlap in their theoretical argument that culture influences meaning making. The bond between cognition and culture was emphasized upon the rise of Cognitive Linguistics, when Langacker (1994), a founder of Cognitive Linguistics, referred to the "advent of cognitive linguistics [as] a return to *cultural linguistics*" (p. 31). Both disciplines examine the conceptual tools of meaning making, i.e., categorization, conceptual frames or conceptual metaphors. Whereas Cognitive Linguistics, considering embodiment and context as a simultaneous motivation in meaning construction, examines these tools in the brain-context dimension and, as such, it focuses on both potentially universal and culture specific forms of conceptualization, Cultural Linguistics focuses on the effect of culture, on cultural conceptualization, and on cultural cognition (Sharifian, 2011, 2017). The two disciplines are claimed to have somewhat different roots. The rise of Cognitive Linguistics was motivated by the refutation of the theories of Objectivism, while Cultural Linguistics as a "multidisciplinary area of research (…) grew out of an interest in integrating cognitive linguistics with the three traditions present in linguistic anthropology, namely, Boasian linguistics, ethnosemantics, and the ethnography of speaking" (Sharifian, 2011, p. 473).

The main objective of the dissertation is to explore the cognitive-cultural models (i.e., the folk conceptions) of shame in the Indian and the American contexts. In its definition of

conceptual tools (i.e., conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, schemas, categories and cognitive-cultural models) and the applied methodology, the dissertation follows the approach of Cognitive Linguistics. It borrows the concept of *cultural cognition*, the pillar of Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2008) in order to specify which level of conceptualization is examined when the meaning making activities of a cultural group are explored through natural language. Conceptualizations of shame associated with the sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts are instantiations of cultural cognition.

In line with Kövecses and Palmer (1999), the dissertation argues that in the cross-cultural analysis of emotion concepts, a combination of the experientialist and the social constructivist approaches is required. It may vary by culture, whether particular emotions are individualized private experiences or socially constructed phenomena. These differences can be traced back to the sociocultural features of contexts and to the folk theories of emotions. The first experientialist analyses of the language of emotions (e.g., Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987) examined American English linguistic expressions and, because they focused on the role of the body in perception, they explored potentially universal aspects of conceptualization. They identified a folk theory of emotions that is force-dynamic in nature and that presents emotional states as irrational. Although the role of the body is evident in emotion conceptualization, this understanding of emotions is not necessarily applicable for every culture. The social constructivist approach points out that there are cultures where emotional states are not necessarily irrational states. Instead, they enable (socially) conscious existence. The possibility that the folk theory of emotions varies by culture must be considered in the cross-cultural examination of particular emotion concepts. Body-based constructionism (Kövecses, 2015), combining the experientialist and the social constructivist approaches to emotions, is able to account for the complex nature of emotion concepts.

This chapter describes the theoretical and the analytical framework of the dissertation. It is divided into two parts. The first part describes the cognitive linguistic approach to conceptual tools that are relevant to Indian and American conceptualizations of shame. In particular, it explores metaphorical and metonymical conceptualization, image schemas, categorization processes, and cultural models. In addition, it introduces the concept of *cultural cognition* as defined in Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017). The second part provides an overview of the relevant linguistic approaches to the interpretation of emotions. It introduces the experientialist (e.g., Kövecses, 1986, 1990, Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987) and social constructivist schools (e.g., Lutz, 1988), and also looks briefly at the lexical semantic approach (Wierzbicka, 1994). The lexical semantic approach is not part of either experientialism or social constructivism, yet it may be linked to these in its approach to conceptualization. The chapter explains why a combination of the experientialist and the social constructivist approaches is necessary in the interpretation of emotion concepts. It

describes body-based constructionism (BBC) (Kövecses, 2015), a combination of the two approaches. Finally, it provides the structure of the cultural model of the metaconcept EMOTION in BBC, which is used in the dissertation in the exploration of Indian and American conceptualizations of shame.

2.1 Conceptual tools

This section introduces the following conceptual tools as interpreted in Cognitive Linguistics: conceptual metaphor, conceptual metonymy, categorization and cultural models. Furthermore, it addresses the concept of *cultural cognition* as defined in Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017).

2.1.1 Conceptual metaphor

The dissertation follows the traditional Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT), according to which a pillar of human thinking is the mental process where one conceptual domain provides access to another. Domains are "conceptual representation[s], or knowledge, of any coherent segment of human experience" (Kövecses, 2006, p. 366). Conceptual metaphors consist of source and target domains. We understand, think about and describe the target domain in terms of the source domain. Source domains are typically more tangible and more concrete domains of experience, while target domains are abstract. Shame as an abstract concept can be understood, for instance, as an object. We make use of our knowledge about objects (as physical entities) – namely that we can possess, hide or move them from one place to another – when conceptualizing shame (as an abstract entity). This knowledge, and the correspondence we draw between the object (the physical entity) and the emotion (the abstract entity), leads us to express shame in language with statements like "the shame is *mine*," "*transfer* one's *shame* to others" or "he tried to *hide* the shame in his voice." The first metaphorical expression is motivated by the SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT, the second by the SHAME IS A TRANSFERABLE OBJECT, and the third by the SHAME IS AN OBJECT TO HIDE conceptual metaphor. This illustrates that metaphor in CMT is a linguistic and a conceptual phenomenon at the same time. The analysis of metaphorical linguistic expressions helps us draw conclusions about which conceptual metaphors motivate understanding.

With respect to their structure, conceptual metaphors are built up by the systematic correspondences between the elements of the source domain and the elements of the target domain. In addition to the mappings, conceptual metaphors are built up by metaphorical entailments. Metaphorical entailments are the rich knowledge about the source domain that gets mapped onto the target domain in addition to the basic mappings between the source and the target. Kövecses (2010) illustrates the role of entailments with the ANGER IS A HOT

FLUID IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor (pp. 124-126). The basic mappings of this conceptual metaphor are the following:

The container → the body of the person
The top of the container → the rational self of the person
The substance in the container → the anger of the person
The degree of the heat of the substance → the intensity of anger
The cause of increase in the heat of the fluid → the cause of anger

We have a more extensive knowledge about the behavior of hot substances in containers than the ones expressed by the listed mappings. This additional knowledge in the source domain gets mapped onto the target domain, for instance, in the following cases. The linguistic examples that illustrate metaphorical entailments are borrowed from Kövecses (2010, p. 124):

the level of the substance rises → the intensity of the anger increases
"anger wells up in somebody"

pressure on the container → the product of the intensity of anger
"to burst with anger"

intense anger produces steam
"somebody is blowing off steam"

the pressure makes the container explode → the intensely angry person blowing up
"anger makes somebody explode"

In many cases, the distinction between entailments and basic mappings is a matter of subjective decision. Both the mappings and the entailments have the same motivation (correlations in experience or perceived similarity) (Kövecses, 2010). For these reasons, in the analysis of the systematic correspondences between the elements of the target domain, SHAME, and the elements of the source domains identified in the dissertation, no distinction is made between basic mappings and entailments. All correspondences are considered as mappings.

In terms of their motivation, a main source of metaphorical meaning making is our bodily experiences. Body-based conceptualization stems from correlations in perceptual or biological experience (Kövecses, 2010). Image schemas are linked to perceptual experience. In Johnson's (1987) definition, image schemas are "recurring, dynamic pattern[s] of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence to our experience" (p. xix).

Image schemas, on the one hand, are non-propositional forms of knowledge. On the other hand, they are highly abstract. They are based on repeated elements of experience. The following image schemas are identified in both the Indian and the American conceptualizations of shame:

> CONTAINMENT/CONTAINER image schema: the body or other entities are containers, and shame is a substance in the container
> SURFACE image schema: shame is a substance on and covering an entity
> FORCE image schema: the emotion, the person feeling the emotion, and the cause of the emotion can all be forces (these refer to further subtypes of the FORCE schema: e.g., ENABLEMENT, BLOCKAGE, COUNTERFORCE, COMPULSION, RESTRAINT, and REMOVAL)[4]
> UP-DOWN image schema: linked to the CONTAINER image schema, the amount of the substance in the container is more or less and, correspondingly, the level of the substance goes up or down

Image schemas serve as a basis of further biological experiences that motivate metaphorical thinking. The ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor mentioned earlier is based on our experience and knowledge about the behavior of hot fluids in closed containers. We know that containers have a top, a bottom, sides and a capacity, as well as that they are either closed or open. We know that hot fluids, when enclosed in a container, can cause the explosion of the container if the heat of their intensity increases. Linguistic expressions like *explode in anger* and *steam with anger* suggest that anger as a complex and abstract emotional experience is understood in terms of a more concrete, physical and bodily experience. The understanding of the emotional experience is motivated by the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor.

Context is decisive in which source domain is used in order to understand the target concept. For instance, the EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER is a congruent metaphor, because it motivates emotion conceptualization at a general level. However, at the same time, under the effect of context, it can have specific forms. A good example of this is the Zulu understanding of anger, namely, that the emotion is conceptualized as an object in the heart (Taylor and Mbense, 1998). This metaphorical understanding is specifically about the substance and the container: The emotion is an object and the heart is a container. As discussed earlier, this differs from American conceptualization, as in that context, the emotion is a fluid and the container of the emotion is the entire body (not the heart specifically). The Zulu ANGER IS AN OBJECT IN THE HEART and the American ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphors are alternative versions of the general-level EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor.

[4] The types of FORCE schemas are borrowed from Hampe (2005).

Further alternative conceptualization is the understanding of the source domain in terms of a culture-specific source domain. The concept of happiness, in Chinese culture, for instance, is present in the frame of the FLOWER IN THE HEART source domain. As Yu (2018) explains, the HAPPINESS IS A FLOWER IN THE HEART conceptual metaphor refers to the fact that peacefulness and restraint are outstandingly preferred and desired individual properties. Cases where particular source domains are more salient than others are cases of preferential metaphorical conceptualization. Culturally unique metaphorical conceptualizations are cases when "*both* a culturally unique source domain and a culturally unique target domain" constitute the conceptual metaphor (Kövecses, 2005, p. 86).

A potential candidate for unique metaphorical conceptualization is the Indian LAJJA IS A JEWEL conceptual metaphor. In this metaphor, behavior, appearance and way of living are in line with social expectations (the possession of *lajja* and, hence, the ability to avoid shame) is understood as a precious ornament of women. As will be discussed in Chapter 7, the concept of *lajja* is specific to Indian culture. As such, it is a culturally unique target domain. JEWEL as a source domain is potentially unique in the sense that it does not seem to motivate the metaphorical understanding of other emotion concepts. This, however, is certainly an intuition-based statement, unsupported by research results.

When we think about a target domain, we can use several potential source domains depending on the aspect of the target domain we aim to express. Metaphorical source domains point out the aspects of conceptualization, and the conceptual metaphors created, partly through these aspects, have a certain "meaning focus" (a "major theme") (Kövecses, 2003, p. 82). To illustrate the concepts *aspect* and *meaning focus*, let us take the following three metaphorical linguistic expressions as examples: "a person *has to have* shame," "shame *hurts*," and "*recover* from shame." The SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor motivates the first metaphorical linguistic expression. The source domain (DESIRABLE OBJECT) simultaneously refers to the existence of shame (existence aspect) and to the fact that the possession of shame is positive (evaluation aspect). The major theme of the metaphor is that the possession of shame is a socially expected human feature. The second example is the linguistic realization of the conceptual metaphor SHAME IS A DISEASE. The source domain (DISEASE) refers to the existence of shame (existence aspect), and it includes the evaluation aspect, according to which shame (as every disease) is negatively perceived. The SHAME IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor underlies the third linguistic expression as well. In this case, the source domain DISEASE refers to the existence of shame (existence aspect), and to the fact that shame can be controlled (control aspect), as it is possible to recover from it. On the whole, the meaning focus of the conceptual metaphor SHAME IS A DISEASE is that shame is a painful and negative, disease-like condition that can be eliminated. As the examples show, one source domain can point to several aspects at the

same time, enriching the potential meaning focus of the conceptual metaphor. In the course of the analysis of the metaphorical understanding of shame in the Indian and the American contexts, a total of 7 aspects and over 30 source domains are identified. A detailed analysis of these is presented in Chapter 6.

2.1.2 Conceptual metonymy

In the traditional cognitive linguistic approach, a conceptual metonymy is a mental activity in which one entity is referred to by naming another entity. In language, metonymical linguistic expressions point to the existence of conceptual metonymies. For example, the italicized part of the following example is metonymical: "She found out I lied and I just wanted to *sink* into my chair." The goal of *sinking* in this scenario is becoming invisible. It reflects the desire to disappear, which is a typical behavioral reaction to shame. Instead of using the term *shame* directly, the speaker describes a typical reaction to it, and by that he/she refers to the emotion itself.

In the traditional approach, metonymical conceptualization is a form of substitution. Some take the traditional approach further or provide alternative definitions. Barcelona (2011), for instance, considers conceptual metonymy as asymmetric mapping and conceptual metaphor as symmetric mapping. Refuting the traditional approach, Croft (1993) says that metonymical relations are not forms of correspondences but instances of domain highlighting, during which a secondary domain is focused on in a domain matrix. Correspondences are not relevant in metonymies for Langacker (1993) either. For him, metonymical conceptualization happens when "an aspect/entity of an 'abstract domain' is mentally active" (p. 29). According to Ruiz de Mendoza (2003), "the fact that metonymy is a type of mapping is not incompatible with the fact that it often consists of the 'highlighting' and the 'activation' of the target domain" (p. 127).

In the dissertation, I adopt the traditional approach to conceptual metonymy, and I support Ruiz de Mendoza's (2003) position. For methodological reasons, for the salience of the identified conceptual metonymies to be measurable with quantitative tools, I consider the relationship between the vehicle entity and the target entity as correspondence. This, however, does not contradict the interpretation of metonymy as 'highlighting' or 'activation'. The starting point for the mapping-based definition of metonymy is the structure of the metonymy, while the interpretation as 'highlighting' or 'activation' is formulated with reference to the meaning of the metonymy. Both definitions emphasize that a link is established between the conceptual domain and its elements with the purpose of expressing meaning.

The relationship of conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies raises questions. The main difference between conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies is that the former is based on (systematic) mappings between the elements of two separate conceptual domains, while the latter is an (asymmetric) mapping between a conceptual domain and its elements. In some cases, however, it cannot be established unambiguously if a mapping is between two domains or within one domain, i.e., if it is a metonymical or metaphorical form of conceptualization. This question also arises in the understanding of shame in Indian English and American English.

For instance, it is possible to interpret the relationship of SHAME and HEAT as either metonymical or metaphorical. The linguistic expressions, for instance, *flush with shame* or *hotness of shame* can be regarded as metonymical or metaphorical. As Kövecses (2013) explains, the link between HEAT and EMOTION is metonymical if SHAME is regarded as one single domain and the physiological reactions to shame (HEAT) as elements of this domain. This way, HEAT (physiological reaction to shame) is part of and metonymically stands for SHAME (the whole domain) (ibid, pp. 78-80). The link is metaphorical if the physiological reaction to shame is generalized to the concept of heat. Through the process of generalization, HEAT is not part of the SHAME domain anymore. Through the process of generalization, SHAME and HEAT are from different domains and, thus, the relation between the two is metaphorical.

Making a difference between metonymical and metaphorical meaning making with this method basically illustrates the idea that, in the case of emotions, "conceptual metaphors and metonymies can be tightly connected such that the metaphors are based on the metonymies" (Kövecses, 2014a, p. 19). Besides the SHAME IS HEAT conceptual metaphor, there are further similar cases – e.g., FEAR and DOWNWARD BODILY ORIENTATION (Kövecses, 2013), ANGER and LACK OF BODY HEAT (Kövecses, 2014a) or HAPPINESS and UPWARD ORIENTATION (Kövecses, 2014a) – where the metaphorical understanding of the emotion is motivated by the metonymical perception of the bodily experiences with the emotion.

Conceptual metonymies can be assigned to two categories. Mapping is possible between one conceptual domain and its parts (PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy and WHOLE FOR THE PART metonymy) and between various parts of the conceptual domain (PART FOR THE PART metonymy). In emotion conceptualization, it is the PART-WHOLE configuration, more specifically the following two metonymical relationships, that is dominant: CAUSE OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION and EFFECT OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION. A linguistic example for the first is the expression "*you* are *my shame*" where the CAUSE OF EMOTION (*you*) metonymically stands for EMOTION (*shame*). The EFFECT OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION conceptual metonymy underlies metonymical emotion conceptualizations that are based on the physiological reactions triggered by the emotion and on the behavioral responses to the

emotion. In the linguistic data of the dissertation, most examples of metonymy belong to this category, for example the following:

> BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME: *blush of shame, sweat with shame, chest hot with shame, red shame*
> WAYS OF LOOKING STANDS FOR SHAME: *avert one's eyes in shame, lower gaze in shame, glance away ashamed*
> LEAVING STANDS FOR SHAME: *flee in shame, duck away in shame, withdraw in shame*
> HIDING THE BODY/THE FACE STANDS FOR SHAME: *hide away in shame, hide face in shame*

The conceptual metonymies that motivate the linguistic expressions of emotions predominantly depict bodily (physiological and behavioral) experiences with the emotions. As such, one would assume that the metonymical understanding of emotions covers potentially universal aspects of emotion conceptualization. A growing number of studies (e.g., Brdar-Szabó and Brdar, 2003, Barcelona, 2011, Radden and Seto, 2003) illustrate, however, that cross-cultural variation is detected in metonymical understanding as well. As Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2012) argue, "accepting that metonymies are universal in principle and present everywhere in language does not lead to the conclusion that (…) all human languages avail themselves of metonymic processes in exactly the same way" (p. 729). According to Zhang (2015), "even for metonymies in the domain of body parts, which seem to be heavily embodied, cross-linguistic differences are attracting increasing attention" (p. 221). In the analysis of the Indian English figurative linguistic expressions, metonymical conceptualization is detected that is assumed to be unique to the Indian culture. Biting one's tongue as a behavioral reaction to shame is potentially specific to the Indian context. Further culture-specific metonymic conceptualizations of shame happen in terms of other behavioral responses (e.g., women not talking or women covering their heads with veils in particular social situations). The metonymical understanding seems peripheral in comparison with the metaphorical conceptualization of shame. It is a valuable part of the research, however, as the conceptual metonymies carry potentially culture-specific meaning. The conceptual metonymies of SHAME identified in the dissertation are discussed in the Chapter 6.

2.1.3 Categorization

The cognitive linguistic approach to categorization has roots in Wittgenstein's prototype theory (1988). In this theory, categories do not have clear and distinct boundaries. On the contrary, categories can be extended and one member can belong to several categories at the same time. Thus, in the cognitive linguistic approach, there are no absolute categories, and the transition between categories is possible. It is not a condition of category membership

that every member possesses an identical set of properties. Members of a particular category are linked by family resemblance (Wittgenstein, 1988). The status of the members in a given category is not the same. There are central/more representative, and peripheral/less representative members (e.g., Rosch, 1978).

A good illustration of this approach to categorization is the way cultures are positioned along the individualism-collectivism dimension (Hofstede, 2001, Triandis, 1995). There are no clearly individualist or collectivist cultures. There isn't a culture (or no culture has been identified yet) that belongs to one category only. Every culture (that has been examined so far) has individualist as well as collectivist traits. While some have more individualist traits (and, thus, are better examples of the individualist category), others have more collectivist traits (and, thus, are better examples of the collectivist category). This approach is to be applied in defining the value systems of Indian and American cultures, which influence the conceptualization of shame. There is evidence of research (e.g., Bhawuk, 2011, Sinha, 1985, Sinha and Verma, 1987, Triandis, 1995) that Indian and American cultures, in comparison, differ in their preference for individualist and collectivist value systems. When comparing the two, the former seems to be dominated by collectivist traits, while the latter is considered as the best example of individualism (Hofstede, 2017). That is, the Indian is a better representative of collectivist cultures, while the American is a better representative of individualist cultures, but both bear individualist and collectivist traits.

Categorization is highly relevant in the analysis of emotions as well. This is because emotion concepts are essentially conceptual categories, which have a number of features. First, as shown in *Table 1* below, there are several levels in the categorization of emotions:

Table 1: Emotions as conceptual categories

Superordinate level		EMOTION	
Basic level	FEAR	ANGER	SHAME
Subordinate level	DREAD	FURY	EMBARRASSMENT

The metaconcept, EMOTION, is a superordinate-level category. Examples of emotions (FEAR, ANGER and HAPPINESS in this case) are basic-level categories within the superordinate-level category EMOTION. Particular types of basic-level emotions appear at the subordinate level (DREAD as a type of FEAR, FURY as a type of ANGER and JOY as a type of HAPPINESS). The findings of Edelstein and Shaver (2007) suggest that the emotion category SHAME is a basic-level category, as it is the part of the "superordinate-level negative emotion cluster" in several cultures (p. 198).

Edelstein and Shaver (2007) point out a second characteristic of emotions as categories, namely that they tend to be embedded in a cluster of other emotion (and non-emotion) categories. According to Probyn (2005), for instance, it is predominantly PRIDE with which

SHAME forms a cluster in New Guinean culture (p. 32). At the same time, in Chinese culture, SHAME is linked with emotion categories like GUILT, FEAR and SADNESS. The idea that SHAME as an emotion category is linked to other categories is highly relevant in the dissertation. As will be illustrated in the analysis of concepts related to or evoked by shame, differences are detected in the Indian English and the American English linguistic data. Whereas the American concept of shame is mainly related to concepts like GUILT, ANGER, SADNESS or WEAKNESS, the Indian concept of shame – as it overlaps with the Indian concept of *lajja* – appears in a different cluster, related to concepts like COMPLIANCE, SHYNESS, RESPECT and HONOR.

2.1.4 Cultural models

Cultural models are folk theories in the frame of which concepts are assigned particular meanings. Folk understandings of concepts are detectable in language. They are "structured representations of thoughts and practices, which are related to specific social, physical and psychological phenomena, including the self and the emotions, in a given cultural context" (D'Andrade and Strauss, 1992, p. 128). The idea that human meaning making activities have a structure is approached in various ways in Cognitive Linguistics and Cultural Linguistics, and in other disciplines. Alternative terms for *cultural model* (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Holland & Quinn, 1987) across disciplines are *scenario* (Palmer, 1996), *frame* (Fillmore, 1982), *Idealized Cognitive Model* (Lakoff, 1987), *cultural script* (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2004) or *cultural schemas* (Sharifian, 2017).

These terms overlap in that each attempts to describe the nature of conceptualization. Palmer (1996) defines *scenario* as a "culturally defined sequence of actions, a story-schema" as well as a "social (…) model that come[s] with action imagery, contingencies, and intrinsic emotional values" (pp. 75-76). *Frames* are "structured mental representations of an area of human experience" (Kövecses, 2006, p. 369). *Idealized Cognitive Model* makes use of propositional and image schematic structuring principles, as well of metaphoric and metonymic mappings (Lakoff, 1987, p. 68). *Cultural scripts*, as defined by Goddard and Wierzbicka (2004), are formulated in "the metalanguage of empirically established semantic primes" (p. 154). *Cultural schemas* are defined as "pools of knowledge that provide the basis for a significant portion of encyclopedic and pragmatic meanings in human languages, and a substantial foundation for the (…) knowledge shared (…) by the members of a speech community" (Sharifian, 2017, p. 43-44).

Cultural models are also termed *cognitive-cultural models* (Kövecses and Benczes, 2010) because they are culturally determined representations of our understanding of the world and, as such, they simultaneously have a cognitive and a cultural basis. The dissertation adopts this cognitive linguistic approach. In the analysis, the terms *cognitive-cultural*

model, *cultural model* or *model* is used in reference to the concept as defined by Kövecses and Benczes (2010). In this approach, cognitive-cultural models can be defined in three possible ways.

Firstly, cultural models are comprised of definable elements. In the case of emotions, Kövecses (1986, 1999, 2000a, 2003, 2015) defines cultural models as the "joint product of (possibly universal) actual human physiology, conceptualized physiology (metonymy), metaphor, cultural model (with its schematic basic structure) and the broader cultural context" (1995b, p. 70). They are "best described as consisting of a number of conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies and related concepts" (Kövecses, 2017b). In this approach, the model is not a proposition-schema based, literal construct. The model presents emotions as a conceptually rich, simultaneously embodied and socioculturally constructed phenomena. This model of emotions consists of the conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy types that are introduced in Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2, as well as of the network of concepts related to or evoked by the emotion. Together, these "fill" the schematic basic structure of the model with meaningful content.

Secondly, cultural models are "scripts" because they describe the steps through which emotion scenarios typically go. Cognitive linguistic studies of emotions (e.g., Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987, Kövecses, 1990, 1995b, 1999, 2000a) name the following generic-level emotional scenario:

cause of emotion ⇒ emotion ⇒ (controlling emotion) ⇒ response

That is, the emotion is triggered by a particular cause, the person tries to control the emotion, the control of the emotion is either successful or not, and the latter leads to an emotional reaction. This is the schematic basic structure of the model, to which the metaphorical and metonymical ways of understanding, as well as the concepts related to the emotion, give content. The conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies that motivate the understanding of the particular emotion, as well as the concepts related to the emotion, appear in the four stages of the model.

Thirdly, cultural models are conceptual categories that, as described in Section 2.1.3, are prototype-based, and have central and peripheral members (Rosch, 1978). They are not "simple, feature-based conceptual structures" (Kövecses, 2014a, p. 22). As for shame, it is possible to talk about models that are prototypical or less salient in the Indian and the American contexts. The prototypical cultural models are central members in the conceptual category SHAME, while the less prototypical cultural models are peripheral members.

Fourthly, the cultural models of emotions are domains of experience that exist as parts of a "domain matrix" (Langacker, 1986) or in the frame of a matrix of concepts (Kövecses, 2014a). "The concept of EMOTION (…) evokes a large number of additional concepts in the conceptual system, constituting a domain matrix" (Kövecses, 2014a, p. 23). As Kövecses (ibid) explains, because emotions have a physiology, they evoke the concept of body; because emotions appear in particular social scenarios, they evoke the concept of society; and because there are accepted and unaccepted forms of behavior that vary across cultures, they evoke concepts like CULTURE, RIGHT, WRONG or APPROPRIATENESS OF RESPONSE. Which concepts are "more closely tied with the concept of emotion" and which are the ones evoked by the emotion is dependent on the characteristics of the context in which emotion conceptualization happens (ibid, p. 24). The "domain matrix" approach to cultural models illustrates why it is important to study the role of context in the conceptualization of emotions.

In the dissertation, it is difficult to distinguish which concepts are tied to shame as parts of the cultural models of shame, and which are related to the emotion as parts of the matrix of concepts the cultural models evoke. The concepts evoked by shame in several cases can be considered as constituting the "domain matrix" (Langacker, 1986) as well as the cultural models. To illustrate this, the findings of the dissertation indicate that TRADITION is a concept related to the Indian concept of shame. TRADITION can be perceived as part of the cultural model of shame (going against the traditions is a potential cause of shame), and also as part of the matrix of concepts that frames the understanding of shame (conformity with the norms and traditions is a basic feature of the Indian sociocultural context). In order to simplify the analysis, the dissertation considers both related concepts types as the related concepts of SHAME.

2.1.5 Cultural cognition

The notion of *cultural cognition* is "at the heart of the theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics (…) which affords an integrated understanding of the notions of 'cognition' and 'culture' as they relate to language" (Sharifian, 2017, p. 22). Cultural cognition is a "form of 'enactive cognition' that comes about as a result of social and linguistic interactions between individuals across time and space" (ibid, p. 23). It is dynamic as "it is constantly negotiated and re-negotiated across generations and through contact between speech communities" (Sharifian, 2017, p. 23). The concept of cultural cognition helps us see the relationship between the conceptualizations of a cultural group at the level of the collective and the conceptualizations of the individuals within the cultural group at the individual level. As will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, it is possible to draw conclusions about collective-level conceptualizations by studying natural language created by the individuals within the particular social group. This, however, does not mean that conceptualization at

the level of the collective is the sum of conceptualizations at the level of the individual. It is possible to find ways of conceptualization at the level of the individual that are not part of conceptualizations at the level of the collective. Similarly, conceptualizations at the level of the collective are "heterogeneously distributed across the minds in a cultural group" (Sharifian, 2008, p. 114). *Cultural cognition* as a notion is used in the dissertation in order to specify which level of conceptualization is examined when the meaning making activities of a cultural group are explored through natural language. Ways of understanding shame related to the sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts are illustrations of cultural cognition.

2.2 The study of emotions in linguistics

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant linguistic approaches to emotion conceptualization. It introduces the experientialist (e.g., Kövecses, 1986, 1990; Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987), the social constructivist (e.g., Lutz, 1988), and the lexical semantic approaches (Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999a, 1999b). The chapter takes a position as to why the dissertation argues for the combination of the experientialist and social constructivist approaches, that is, for the approach of body-based constructionism (Kövecses, 2015). The chapter revisits the concept *cognitive-cultural model*, and provides a version of the model that is capable of describing all the cultural models of SHAME identified in the dissertation.

2.2.1 Experientialism

Experientialism is the philosophy behind Cognitive Linguistics, as the discipline emerged in the 1980s. Central in experientialism is the embodiment hypothesis, namely, that the conceptualization of abstract concepts has an obvious basis in bodily experience. When people talk about their emotions, they tend to describe their feelings and "impose an understanding on what it is" that they feel (Lakoff, 2008, p. 377). In this approach, the folk understanding of emotions is a combination of a feeling state component and a conceptual component, both of which have roots in physiological and other bodily experiences.

As Rohrer (2007) explains, "in its broadest definition, the embodiment hypothesis is the claim that human physical, cognitive, and social embodiment ground our conceptual and linguistic systems" (p. 25). It is a "very live question as to whether [it] is an empirical scientific hypothesis, a general theoretical orientation, a metaphysics, or some combination of all of these" (ibid, p. 26). Embodiment-based cognitive linguistic approaches stem from Talmy's (1985, 2000) theory of force dynamic interactions and Johnson's (1987) ideas about image schemas. In his theory on force dynamics, Talmy (2003) describes "how entities interact with respect to force" (p. 409). The entities that participate in the forceful interaction are the Agonist (the "focal force entity") and the Antagonist ("the force element

opposing the Agonist") (ibid, p. 413). Both try to gain control over the other (ibid, p. 413). In the interaction of the two, the "balance of forces can shift through the weakening or strengthening of one of the entities" (ibid, p. 419). This gives two basic scenarios: Either the Agonist or the Antagonist takes over control.

As described in Section 2.1.1, image schemas are "a recurring, dynamic pattern[s] of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence to our experience" (Johnson, 1987, p. xix). They "emerge primarily as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulation of objects, and our perceptual interactions" (ibid, p. 29). The FORCE schema is one among several schemas that cover the force dynamic interactions introduced above. "There is considerable agreement among scholars that the FORCE schema is one of the most basic image schemas that structure the conceptual system" (Kövecses, 2005, p. 62).

The FORCE image schema is at the heart of the cultural model of emotions that, on the basis of cognitive linguistic studies of basic emotion concepts (e.g., Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987, Kövecses, 1990, 1995b, 1999, 2000a), appears to be salient in emotion conceptualization. "Given the force-dynamic character of [the conceptual metaphors that most typically characterize emotions] and given that they can be said to make up a large part of the conceptual structure associated with emotions, it can be suggested that emotion concepts are largely force-dynamically constituted" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 108). This model of emotions, as described in Section 2.1.4, consists of the following 4 stages:

cause of emotion ⇒ emotion ⇒ (controlling emotion) ⇒ response

That is, the emotion is triggered by a particular cause, the person (the Antagonist) attempts to control the emotion (the Agonist), control over the emotion is either successful or not, and the unsuccessful control of the emotion leads to an emotional response. The cause of the emotion (causes are forces), the emotion (emotions are forces) and the person attempting to control the emotion (the person is an antagonist to the emotion) all appear as forces.

At the heart of the experientialist approach is the role the body plays in conceptualization. Linked to this comes the main criticism of the approach (e.g., Rakova, 2002) that argues that experientialism cannot account for ways of conceptualization that are not body-based, but are the results of other effects (e.g., that of context). It is argued that this line of criticism does not take the following into consideration. In the advent of experientialism, the proponents of the approach started to explore potentially universal dimensions of conceptualization because they emphasized the role of the body in meaning making activities as a response to objectivist theories. This is the main reason why the primary

scope of experientialist research has been the dimension of conceptualization that is potentially universal. Experientialism rose in order to refute Objectivism, according to which "thought is the mechanical manipulation of abstract symbols" and meaning is created "via correspondences to things in the external world" (Lakoff, 1987, p. xii). While arguing that the human brain and mind cannot function independently of the body, experientialism did not exclude the effect of context on conceptualization. The role of context was not in the focus of research. As Kövecses (1999, p. 258) explains,

> it is not that experientialist think of physical experience as in any way more important than other kinds of experience. They have emphasized physical experience in order to make it clear that emotion concepts are motivated, or that they have any experiential basis. (…) The primary motive was to call attention to a gap in thinking about emotion concepts.

In the same vein, when Lakoff (1987) explained the embodiment hypothesis in relation to the first cognitive linguistic studies, he did not talk about the body as a major motivation in conceptualization referring exclusively to its physiological nature. He also referred to the relationship between the body and the physical and social environment as a factor in conceptualization. In his words (Lakoff, 1987, p. xv), embodiment is

> not merely perception, motor movement, etc., but especially the internal genetically acquired makeup of the organism and the nature of its interactions in both its physical and social environment.

Because of the primary research focus on the role of the body in meaning making activities, cognitive linguistic theories have been mistakenly identified as proponents of universalism. The criticism, however, that there is vast need to extend the pool of cross-cultural studies is believed to be justified. A main direction of research in Cognitive Linguistics today - e.g., the Neural theory of metaphor (Lakoff, 2008a) - is still concerned with embodiment only, and "characterizes metaphor in language and thought as emerging from basic sensory-motor systems" (Gibbs, 2017, p. 34). Another direction (e.g., Kövecses, 2017a) is concerned with the effect of context so that, because of embodiment, it presupposes a certain level of universality in conceptualization. As Kövecses (2000a) explains, "given the universal real physiology, members of different cultures cannot conceptualize their emotions in a way that contradicts universal physiology, (…) but they can choose to conceptualize their emotions in many different ways within the constraints imposed on them by universal physiology" (p. 165). This is the essence of the approach of body-based constructionism (Kövecses, 2015), which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The basic argument of the dissertation is the following. Bodily experiences have an unquestionable role in the understanding of emotion concepts and they point to potentially universal forms of conceptualization. However, the effect of context in emotion conceptualization can be of such degree and nature that it produces not only specific perceptions of particular emotion concepts, but also specific understandings of emotions in general. In one context, emotions are private and individualized phenomena, and, in line with the cultural model described in Section 2.1.4, constitute irrational states of some sort. In other contexts, emotions are social concepts and their meaning comes from the function they have in conveying culturally significant values, defining social relations and in successfully managing social situations. The findings of social constructivist studies provide evidence to the latter approach to emotions.

2.2.2 Social constructivism

Several studies in anthropology that adopt the social constructivist approach show that there are emotion concepts in the conceptualization of which physiology and bodily responses do not seem to play a significant role. Reyes-Garcia (2012) studies HAPPINESS in indigenous Amazonian tribes and identifies the meaning of the concept as centering "on social relations and reciprocity with family and friends, success in activities such as fishing and hunting, and the concept of 'good food'" (p. 209). Beban (2012) comes to a similar conclusion in the study of HAPPINESS in Cambodian culture, where the concept appears to be understood "in terms of 'food sovereignty,' the ability to access and cultivate food in ways beneficial to the family and the community" (p. 149). Even though the body is part of the Amazonian and Cambodian conceptualization of HAPPINESS, the essence of the concept is not revealed in light of that. The meaning of the concept centers around particular social triggers of the emotion, who the participants of the particular social situation in which the emotion appears are, and what behavior is expected of the participants. These examples illustrate that emotions are not necessarily internal, private and irrational feelings, but sociocultural constructs and "sociocultural achievements" (Koziak, 2000).

A pioneering research of the social constructivist approach to emotions is the observations of Lutz (1988) in the Ifaluk community. Lutz's (1988) study "allows us to observe the way in which emotional expressions, based on the ethics of the collective, regulate social interaction and, in concomitance, allow to see the way in which (…) emotional expressions are socially regulated" (Cardoso, 2015, p. 105). Lutz (1988) studies 5 emotion concepts: *fago* (compassion/love/sadness), *song* (justified anger/rage), *ker* (happiness/excitement), *rus* (panic/fright/surprise) and *metagu* (fear/anxiety) (ibid, p. 188). The main argument of her research is that these emotions are triggered by certain social scenarios, and, as such, they essentially have social meanings and functions. The social scenarios associated with these concepts convey culturally significant values. To give an example, "a woman who left her

son for much of an afternoon at her household in order to engage in the much-maligned activity of 'walking around' (which implies structuring around and a failure to do one's work) was disparagingly called crazy" (ibid, p. 104). This woman shows lack of social competence in that she misses to behave in an adult manner. Gaining social intelligence, that is, becoming an adult is the most important stage "in the life cycle in Ifaluk ethnotheory" (ibid, p. 109). In the Ifaluk community, individuals entering adulthood are expected to possess the most highly valued traits (calmness, respect, and gentleness), the ability to fill one's social roles (i.e., the individual does his or her job and does not avoid it), and the ability to manage the five emotions listed above. Of the five emotions, the most central is *song* (justified anger/rage). *Song* is a highly positively evaluated emotion as it appears if a cultural norm is violated. The absence of *song* in the individual leads to scenarios like the woman leaving her son alone, which are negatively perceived.

In the social constructivist approach, body-based and, thus, potentially universal dimensions of emotion conceptualization are not considered. Emotions are believed to be triggered by particular sociocultural situations, they have a socially meaningful goal and they lead to socially meaningful and accepted (or unaccepted) forms of behavior. The meaning of emotion concepts is relative to the context in which they occur. All emotions are fundamentally social phenomena through which norms, roles and traditions characteristic of a particular sociocultural community are communicated. In the social constructivist approach, the body-based feeling component is not part of the emotion model because of the belief that feeling states do not add much to the essence of emotions. This argument is in line with approaches in psychology (e.g., Schachter and Singer, 1962), according to which physiology-based feeling states do not tell us much about emotions because there is an extensive overlap in the physiology of particular emotions. For instance, fear and anger similarly cause an increased pulse and an increased body heat. Both emotions put the body in a physiologically alert condition. As Lynch (1990) puts it, "there is nothing specifically in feeling itself that distinguishes" one emotion from the other (p. 13).

Wierzbicka's (1986, 1972, 1994, 2004) lexical semantic approach, similarly to the social constructivist approach, does not accept potential universality in emotion conceptualization. Wierzbicka (ibid) argues, however, that the semantic primes that constitute emotion concepts are possibly detectable in every culture and language. Semantic primes are "simple, indefinable meanings which appear to 'surface' as the meanings of words or word-like expressions in all languages" (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2004, p. 154). They "have an inherent universal grammar of combination, valence, and complementation, which also manifests itself equally in all languages, albeit with language-specific formal variations" (ibid, pp. 155-156). According to Wierzbicka (2004), Natural Semantic Metalanguage

(NSM)[5] (the system built up by the semantic primes) enables us to identify cultural scripts which give us the culture-specific meanings of particular concepts. As Wierzbicka (ibid) explains, the main argument of the lexical semantic approach is that NSM makes the objective comparison of languages and cultures possible.

The findings of social constructivist studies suggest that the social constructivist approach to emotions is a thought to consider in cognitive linguistic analyses as well. What makes Wierzbicka's approach relevant to the doctoral research is that it questions the translatability of emotion terms from one language to another. It rejects the possibility that emotion concepts have exact equivalents across cultures. In her argument (Wierzbicka, 1994), particular emotion concepts as well as emotion as a metaconcept are potentially culture-bound. As Oatley et al (2006) explain, "our beliefs about emotion in the West, that emotions are both irrational and also authentic aspects of the true self, are products of the culture of Europe and North America" (p. 60). As such, taking the "Western" concept of emotions as a basis in studies that aim to explore emotions in non-Western cultures is a potential flaw. A similar argument can be formulated with respect to particular emotion terms and emotion concepts. As Russell (1991) argues, "German *Schadenfreude* or Hungarian *káröröm* (pleasure derived from another person's displeasure), Japanese *itoshii* (longing for an absent loved one), and Bengali *obhiman* (the sorrow caused by the insensitivity of a loved one)" are terms that do not have exact equivalents in, for instance, the English language (p. 426). This is because the concepts that the listed German, Hungarian, Japanese and Bengali words denote do not seem to be present in the Anglo-American mindset. The emotion concepts identified in Lutz's (1988) Ifaluk study cannot be described with simple correspondences, either. Therefore, for example, *fago* is translated as a combination of compassion, love and sadness.

The social constructivist and lexical semantic approaches, because of the advantages described above, are useful supplements to experientialist cognitive linguistic theory. Because of the following criticism, however, it is argued that they are not able to describe emotion conceptualization in its entirety. They have the potential to point out important aspects of emotion conceptualization, but they cannot provide the full picture of emotion concepts. Firstly, the lexical semantic approach studies emotion terms and, as such, it

[5] Around 60 semantic primes are identified in NSM (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2004). Semantic primitives are, among others, THINK/ DESIRE/ WANT/ FEEL/ KNOW, BAD/GOOD, NEAR/ FAR/ HERE/ ABOVE/ BELOW or I/YOU, in terms of which descriptive emotion terms like *anger*, *fear* or *sadness* can be defined. The definition (described as a semantic script) of the English emotion term *love* along these lines, as quoted from Wierzbicka (1992, p. 145), is the following:

(a) X knows Y
(b) X feels something good toward Y
(c) X wants to be with Y
(d) X wants to do good things for Y

cannot take into account linguistic manifestations of emotions in which the emotion terms themselves are not articulated (Taylor and Mbense, 1998). Secondly, because it looks at emotion terms in isolation and attempts to describe them with a fixed number of semantic primes (i.e., without considering the broader linguistic context), the lexical semantic approach is forced to leave out various "critical meanings" of the emotion at hand (Quinn, 2015, p. 175). As Quinn (2015) explains, "a culturally adequate definition of [emotion terms] cannot be founded on metalinguistics but must incorporate relevant nonlinguistic experience pertaining to the domain in question" (p. 165). Because of these, the full meaning of emotion concepts cannot be explored via the cultural scripts the semantic primes are capable to pinpoint.

The social constructivist approach, looking at emotions in their social function only, does not see ways of conceptualization that are motivated by embodiment and that are image schematic in nature. The body is not necessarily central in the understanding of all emotions, but it seems to be an inherent element of the content and structure of emotion concepts. As an illustration, Lutz (1988) in her analysis of the 5 main Ifaluk emotions argues that these are social concepts but overlooks that they have bodily manifestations. In several cases, the meaning of these concepts is channeled via bodily expressions. For instance, in reference to an emotion similar to pride (*gaiseus*), Lutz (ibid) observes that *gaiseus* is a socially unwelcome emotion (because it opposes main Ifaluk values like calmness, respect, and gentleness). She fails to see the role of the body in manifestations of the emotion when she explains that "people who are *gaiseus* walk with their shoulders thrown back and do not sit all the way down among a group of people" (ibid, p. 113). Metonymical correspondences, e.g., SHOULDERS THROWN BACK STAND FOR GAISEUS, are the same way part of the structure and content of *gaiseus* as the main meaning of the concept, namely that the possession of the emotion is frowned upon in the community. The concept is expressed through its bodily manifestation. The members of the community observe the posture and behavior of the person in order to establish whether they are *gaiseus* or not. For methodological or research purposes, neither the social constructivist nor the lexical semantic approach considers the metonymical and metaphorical meaning making processes that, on the basis of the findings of cognitive linguistic studies (e.g., Kövecses and Lakoff, 1987, Yu, 1995, Kövecses, 2000a), are fundamental elements of emotion concepts.

2.2.3 Body-based constructionism and the cultural model of SHAME in the dissertation

To be able to examine emotion concepts in their entirety in every sociocultural context, it is suggested that a synthesis of the social constructivist and experientialist approaches is necessary. The synthesis is possible if the experientialist, body-based approach is supplemented with the social constructivist approach in the following way. The results of experientialist observations suggest that the human body (human physiology) is a constraint

in our understanding of emotions. The body has an unavoidable role in conceptualization, as it is the "house" of our existence, through the windows of which we are able to conceive the world around us, the events happening to us, and various abstract phenomena (e.g., emotions). Borrowing the example of Kövecses (1995), "it would be odd to conceptualize anger as, say, softly falling snow, an image completely incompatible with what our bodies are like and what our physiology does in anger" (p. 192). The particular embodiment of our emotions "is seen as limiting the choice of" the conceptual tools that are available in the conceptualization of emotions (ibid, p. 192). At the same time, besides bodily experiences, there is a similarly important role of contextual factors in conceptualization. On the one hand, the body cannot simply be considered as a biological, decontextualized entity. It is contextual in the sense that every bodily experience is gained in the frame of a larger (sociocultural or physical) context. On the other hand, the effect of context in emotion conceptualization can be of such degree and nature that in the conceptualization of a particular emotion concept it is not the body-based interpretation that provides the core of the meaning (it is a part of it, but not the essence). Instead, the essence of the emotion comes from the role it plays in the social functioning of individuals.

The sociocultural features of context influence whether emotions are individualized, private experiences or social, public phenomena. In terms of the former, the perspective of the conceptualizer is imposed on conceptualization, and the emotion is primarily understood in the frame of its relation to the conceptualizer. In terms of the latter, the meaning of emotions is assigned in light of what role they play in the definition of social relations and how they contribute to the successful management of social situations. In the latter view of emotions, the way the emotion appears in relation to others is an important element of conceptualization. The social constructivist approach supplements the experientialist approach, as it expands the perspective of cross-cultural analyses of emotion concepts by emphasizing that not only folk understandings of particular emotion concepts, but folk theories of emotion as a metaconcept might vary across cultures. In the dissertation, this point is highly relevant, since, as we will see, differences between Indian and American conceptualizations of shame possibly occur because different folk theories and philosophies motivate the understanding of EMOTION in the two contexts. Culture-specific folk understandings of EMOTION are considered as features of the Indian and the American sociocultural contexts that are relevant to conceptualizations of shame.

In the combined approach of experientialism and social constructivism, it is possible to explore the rich conceptual content of emotion concepts via the cognitive linguistic conceptual tools (that is, conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, image schemas and categories). In line with the description in Section 2.1, some of these are based on bodily experiences (e.g., image schemas), while others (e.g., conceptual metaphors) underlie meaning-making processes motivated by both the body and the context. In

Kövecses's (2000a, pp. 183) approach, body-based constructionism, the combination of experientialist and social-constructivist views, is defined as follows:

> Essentially, the synthesis involves acknowledging that some aspects of emotion language and emotion concepts are universal and clearly related to the physiological functioning of the body. Once the universal aspects are parsed out, the very significant remaining differences in emotion language and concepts can be explained by reference to differences in cultural knowledge and pragmatic discourse functions that work according to divergent culturally defined rules or scenarios.

The cognitive-cultural model of emotions applied in the dissertation reflects the approach of body-based constructionism. The cognitive-cultural model of emotions applied in the dissertation is the one described in Section 2.1.4 earlier, but has the following, more simplified structure:

cause of emotion ⇒ existence of emotion ⇒ effect of emotion

That is, the emotion is triggered by a particular cause, the existence of the emotion is understood in various ways, and finally the emotion goes with a particular effect or behavioral response. This simplified model is needed in the dissertation for the following reasons.

Firstly, the main assumption of the dissertation is that the sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts cause different cultural models of SHAME. This hypothesis includes the idea that the two contexts are characterized by different folk theories of emotions, and this in itself may lead to different conceptualizations of SHAME. The analysis of the sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts that are relevant in the understanding of SHAME (described in detail in Chapter 4) makes it clear that American and Indian conceptions of emotions have different philosophical and theoretical roots. In short (but described in Chapter 4 in detail), a possible prototype of the American folk theory of emotions is that emotional states are irrational and imbalanced states. Emotions are forces that try to move a person (the rational self) from the balanced (emotion-free) state. This is in fact the prototypical emotion model that, according to the results of cognitive linguistic studies about basic emotions, is potentially universal (Kövecses, 1986, 1991, 1995b).

As opposed to this, there is an interpretation of emotions in the Indian context in which emotions aim to maintain the balance of the person. In this view, emotions are forces in this model as well but, instead of distorting the balance of the person, they aim to maintain the

balance by preventing the person from committing undesirable acts. The structure of the cultural model used in the dissertation needs to be able to reflect both views.

Secondly, shame is a complex emotion. This raises the assumption that the conceptualization of shame is possibly different from the understanding of basic emotions. As discussed earlier, cognitive linguistic studies have primarily examined basic emotions, and the prototypical model of emotions has been deduced on the basis of findings of these studies. As we will see in the analysis, both Indian English and American English linguistic examples refer to an understanding of shame in which (the ability to feel) the emotion is a positive trait. Shame is a force in this conceptualization as well, but it does not upset the balance of the person. Instead, shame helps the person maintain his/her balance. It is essential to note that this interpretation does not necessarily originate from context-specific folk theories of emotions described in the previous paragraph. This understanding of shame seems to have roots in the complex nature of shame. Shame is essentially a social emotion and, therefore, its appears on two different layers: (1) as the individual in shame perceives shame (shame as an individual experience) and (2) as the individual's shame impacts those related to the individual (shame as a social, public experience).As the analysis will reveal, shame is a negative experience on both layers. The fact that the ability to avoid shame and the ability to feel shame are positively perceived is rooted in our knowledge of shame as a negative experience. Research into basic emotions has not had similar results. The conceptual structure of basic emotions does not seem to be layered.

The simplified cultural model (cause of emotion ⇒ existence of emotion ⇒ effect of emotion), contrary to the four-stage model given in Section 2.1.4, is capable of describing all the cultural models of shame identified in the dissertation. The three stages of the simplified model are filled in various ways by the particular Indian and American conceptualizations. The cognitive-cultural models of shame identified in the dissertation are discussed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 3: Shame

Cognitive Linguistics is interdisciplinary in nature. As such, in the study of shame, it is useful, firstly, to review the psychological literature on the emotion. The results of studies in psychology may provide important information on expert theories of shame, which can be used in the analysis of linguistic data. The first part of the chapter gives a summary of the literature on shame in the field of psychology. Secondly, it is important to review previous cognitive linguistic research on shame. The dissertation examines the concept of shame in the Indian and the American contexts, through Indian English and American English texts. The comparative analysis of Indian and American conceptualizations of shame has not been in the scope of cognitive linguistic studies so far, but shame has been investigated on several accounts. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of cognitive linguistic (or related) studies, the results, methodologies or research questions of which have inspired the doctoral research.

3.1 Shame: A perspective from psychology

The psychological literature provides useful information about shame, which may be helpful in exploring the language-based folk theory of the concept. Most scientific research results available in the literature are not interested in potentially universal forms of conceptualization of shame. Instead, they suggest that this emotion has a number of features that increase the likelihood that its interpretation varies across contexts with different sociocultural features.

The first such characteristic is that shame is a self-conscious emotion. As Tracey and Robins (2004b) argue, shame "requires a concept of the self or an ability to see the self as an object of evaluation" (p. 112). The understanding of the concept of the SELF is largely determined by the characteristics of the value system that prevails in particular sociocultural contexts. In Tsai's (2007) approach, there are two basic types of self: the interdependent self and the independent self. The interdependent view of the self is dominant in contexts where community is the basic social unit, and individuals are interpreted in terms of their roles and obligations within the community, and where the dominant values are the ones that support the preservation of the community. The independent view of the self is dominant in contexts where the individual is the basic social unit, and individuals are interpreted in terms of their strength and achievements, and where the dominant values are the ones that support the personal success of individuals.

In terms of the interdependent self, the individual is defined in the frame of his/her relations and obligations to others. As Frevert (2016) explains, the two definitions of SELF lead to potentially different experiences with social emotions. "In modern Western societies, shame

tends to be private and individualized: A person feels ashamed once he or she realizes that he or she has done something of which others (whom the person cares about) would strongly disapprove if they knew it" (ibid, pp. 57-58). In contrast with this, shame is less of a private experience in societies where collectivist values are in the foreground. Therefore, shame is primarily defined in light of its effect on the community and appears not simply as an emotion, but also as a value that enhances group cohesion. In contexts with preference for collectivist values, shame tends to be a public concept and not an individualized one (Frevert, 2016).

The second feature of shame is that it is a complex emotion. As such, it is difficult to name potential causes of shame. Whereas basic emotions (e.g., fear, anger, happiness) are automatic responses to triggers that are relatively straightforward to identify (e.g., a real or imagined threat in the case of fear and anger, and an actual or imagined event in the case of happiness), in the case of self-conscious, complex emotions "there are no clear elicitors" (Lewis, 1995, p. 74). Potential causes vary from one individual to another and, essentially, across cultures. Lewis (2008) argues that the elicitor of shame is "likely to be some cognitive event" (p. 743). That is, not an event itself but people's evaluation of that event. The evaluation of situations is determined by the value system people adopt. The value system, again, is related to the concept of self people have.

We can make similar statements about the expression of shame. There are basic expressive responses to this emotion. It depends on the features of the sociocultural context, however, whether the expression of the emotion is accepted or not. In the American context, for instance, happiness and anger are emotions that can be expressed freely because they are not inconsistent with the desired and valued traits of individuals. The feeling state of shame is to be averted, however, because it includes a feeling of low self-esteem. In the American context, "self-esteem is held in high regard as a measure of personal worth" and "the suffer[ing] of low self-esteem is akin to being somehow damaged and broken" (Heine et al., 1999). For this reason, shame tends to be hidden and repressed (Kaufman, 1989). In contrast to this, in contexts with preference for collectivist values, shame tends to be an inherent concept in the socialization processes of individuals and, therefore, it is a "focal emotion" (Frijda and Mesquita, 1995). As Kitayama et al. (2000) argue, "the value placed on shame emerges simultaneously with children learning to adjust to group norms" (Kitayama et al., 2000).

If expressed, typical physical reactions to shame are downcast eyes, downcast head and the downward orientation of the entire body, as well as covering the face and redness of the face. In the state of shame, the temperature of the body rises. Characteristic behavioral responses include breaking the eye contact, as well as turning away and withdrawing from others. These are responses that are typically depicted in the metonymical linguistic

expressions of shame. Given that these are potentially universal bodily reactions to shame, one could assume that the metonymical understanding of the emotion is near universal. Culture-specific reactions have been discovered, however. Gaby (2008) notes that for the Pormpuraaw (an Aboriginal tribe living in Australia and speaking the Kuuk Thaayorre language), rising of the body hair is a common response to shame. The RISE OF THE BODY HAIR FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is detectable in their language (*pancr rirk*). Instead of any of the typical behavioral reactions listed above, the Pormpuraaw highlight this particular physical response to the emotion. This is a potentially culture-specific metonymical understanding of shame as, for instance, "an English speaker is much more likely to associate their body hair standing on end with terror or premonition" (Gaby, 2008, p. 40) rather than with shame.

The third feature of shame is that it is a social emotion. The concept of "other" ("others" as witnesses of one's shame or "others" as impacted by one's shame) is inherently linked to this emotion. The following definitions of shame illustrate this:

- Shame is "acute arousal or fear of being exposed to and judged *by others*" (Gilbert, 1998, p. 6).
- Shame is "a reaction to a situation (real or imagined) that is a threat to one's relationships *with others*" (Tracey et al., 2007).
- Shame "focuses on either the social world (beliefs about how *others* see the self), the internal world (how one sees oneself), or both (how one sees oneself as a consequence of how one thinks *others* see the self)" (Gilbert, 1998, p. 16)
- In an evolutionary perspective, shame "evolved as a defense against being devalued *by others*" (Sznycer et al., 2016, pp. 26-25).

As stated earlier, because shame is a social emotion, it has two layers: (1) as the individual in shame sees the emotion (shame as an individual experience) and (2) as the emotion of the individual appears in relation to others (shame as a social, public experience). Shame is "associated with being negatively evaluated by the self and the others because of not being able to meet standards and norms of what is appropriate" (Tracey et al., 2007). Because shame is a negative experience on both layers, it is predominantly evaluated as a negative emotion. At the same time, it is important to see that the evaluation of the emotion is dependent on the context.

As Tracey et al. (2007) explain, in a Western perspective, shame is mainly a negative emotion because it is the negative feeling state of the individual that is profiled in the experience with shame. It is possible to evaluate the emotion positively in the sense that people are expected to have a certain amount of shame in order not to do anything that is considered inappropriate. Li et al.'s (2004) findings reveal that this latter understanding

appears to be more dominant in Asian cultures. For instance, in China "a sense of shame is considered a healthy part of an individual's life" (Tracey et al., 2007, p. 165). Shame in this context appears not as an emotion, but as a "moral and virtuous sensibility to be pursued" (Tracey et al., 2007, p. 163). As such, shame is viewed as positive. The research results of Menon and Schweder (2010) and the findings of Rozin (2003) further support this. In their studies, Hindu Indian and American participants were presented with a list of emotions (anger, happiness and shame) and were asked to name one emotion they thought was the most different from the other two in the set. Americans viewed happiness as the most different, while Hindu Indians found anger to be the most different. It is argued that Americans see anger and shame as being more similar to each other because they are both evaluated negatively. Hindu Americans, on the other hand, regard happiness and shame as being more similar because both are thought of as socially constructive emotions (Scollon et al., 2004, p. 307). Another possible explanation is related to the difference between socially disengaging and socially engaging emotions (Kitayama et al., 2000). Emotions that are socially engaging in one cultural context potentially appear to be socially disengaging in another cultural context. It is assumed that Americans view happiness as a socially engaging emotion (and, therefore, they see anger and shame as being more similar) while Hindu Indians see anger as a socially disengaging emotion (and, therefore, consider shame and happiness to be more similar).

Yontef (2003, pp. 355-356) differentiates three types of shame. Situational shame is "a reaction at a time and in a situation of specific failure, weakness, [and] inappropriate behavior" (p. 355). Existential shame is "not related to a particular behavior or weakness or to a particular situation, but rather an attribution about the essence of the person" (p. 355). Group shame is experienced "as a result of membership in class, race, religion, or any other social grouping" (p. 356). As will be illustrated in the discussion of Indian and American folk conceptualizations of shame in Chapter 8, these shame types correspond to some of the cognitive-cultural models identified in the dissertation.

3.1.1 Concepts related to shame

The following concepts tend to come up in discussions in psychology (e.g., Lewis, 1995, 2008, Tracey and Robbins, 2007) about shame as related to the emotion: guilt, embarrassment, fear, sadness, and morality. These are viewed as concepts potentially related to shame in general. If shame is viewed as a context-specific concept, the literature (e.g., Peristiany, 1965, Miller and Tangney, 1994) names further potential related concepts: anger, shyness, modesty, and honor. With respect to the Indian concept of shame, *lajja* is a concept that is semantically related to shame. As Sinha and Chauhan (2013) explain, *lajja* is a key concept in Indian culture as it is "embedded in India's social, political and ideological

history and its psychological, social and behavioral representations" (p. 133). This section discusses the listed concepts in more detail.

3.1.1.1 Guilt, embarrassment, fear, sadness and morality

Guilt is often named as a sister emotion of shame. Although guilt and shame are likely to be referred to as synonyms in the folk understanding of emotions, studies in psychology emphasize that they should be treated as separate. In Barrett's (1995) view, the two emotions cause different behavioral reactions. Whereas shame characteristically makes the person withdraw, guilt tends to make people socially engaged in order to heal the cause of guilt. In case it is not possible to regain the emotional balance by means of compensation, it is possible that guilt gets converted into shame (Lewis, 1995, p. 69). Others (Tracey et al., 2007, Tracey and Robbins, 2004a, Chase and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo, 2015) see the main difference in the two emotions in terms of the "locus of control." Shame is a state without control because it "is attributed to the inadequacy and inability (of the self), over which one has little or no control" (Chase and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo, 2015, p. 3). In contrast to this, guilt is a state with control because it is associated with "an internal negative assessment of behavior which could have been avoided" (Chase and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo, 2015, p. 3). Because of this, shame "is viewed as more devastating to people's self-concepts and self-esteem than guilt" (Wong and Tsai, 2007, p. 211).

Embarrassment is often named as another synonym of shame in everyday conversations. The difference between shame and embarrassment, from a psychological perspective, is less tangible as the one between shame and guilt. Some (e.g., Lewis, 1971) argue that they are not separate emotions. In Izard's (1971) view, embarrassment is simply a "lighter" version of shame. The physical responses to the two are basically the same: red face as a result of an increase in body heat, downward orientation of the head, covering the face. There is significant overlap in the behavioral reactions as well (breaking eye contact, withdrawal). Harré (1990) sees shame and embarrassment as emotions standing on two opposite ends of a scale. The two opposite ends "refer respectively to the seriousness of the transgression and to the extent of one's fault for it" (Corzier, 1990, p. 8).

Fear is a related emotion concept of shame as the experience with shame is characteristically negative and, as such, the appearance of shame is feared. Fear is explicitly mentioned in the definition of Gilbert (1998). Shame is "acute arousal or fear of being exposed to and judged by others (ibid, p. 6). Sadness is a related emotion concept of shame for similar reasons. Shame as a negative experience potentially causes low-arousal states such as sadness.

The nonemotion concept, morality is inherent in the concept of shame for the simple reason that immoral actions (immoral in the eye of the individual and/or in the eye of others) lead to shame. As Manion (2002, p. 73) explains, people aim to avoid the negative feeling state caused by shame and strive to do morally acceptable things. People acquire this motivation as part of socialization processes. In Barrett's (1995) words, "socialization plays a major role in the development of shame [because] it makes a child care about the opinion of others, (…) want to follow the standards (…) and learn about the consequences of success and failure" (p. 26). In the analysis of related concepts of shame in the Indian and the American contexts, all five concepts (guilt, embarrassment, fear, sadness and morality) are identified. The discussion of these is addressed in Chapter 6.

3.1.1.2 Anger, shyness, modesty and honor

Anger, shyness, modesty and honor are concepts the relations of which to shame are dependent on the cultural context. As Miller and Tangney (1994) explain, anger is a potentially related concept of shame in contexts with preference for individualist values. "The Western characterization of shame gives rise to anger directed both toward the self and others that is likely to impair rather than facilitate subsequent interactions" (Miller and Tangney, 1994, p. 275). Shyness and modesty, on the other hand, are related concepts of shame in cultures with a preference for collectivist values. As Mesquita and Karasawa (2004) explain, shame in Asian cultures is "consistent with the cultural norms of modesty" (p. 163). Furthermore, it is understood as a valued quality, and the possession of shame is manifest in reserved and shy forms of behavior. The concept of honor, in this context, is tightly related to shame as the loss of it is a direct cause of shame (Peristiany, 1965, Pitt-Rivers, 1977). Also, it is through the concept of honor that shame becomes a value. Having a sense of shame is a desirable attribute from a social perspective as it motivates the individual to behave so that the social requirements are kept. The possession of shame makes the individual, and those related to the individual, honorable. What counts as honorable (not shameful) varies across cultures; it is indicative, for instance, of the dominant power relations in a given context. The analysis of the Indian English linguistic expressions of shame illustrates that power relations (between gender, age and social groups) are manifest in the Indian conceptualization of the emotion.

3.1.1.3 *Lajja*

The concept of *lajja* is focal in the Indian sociocultural context (Menon and Shweder, 2010). *Lajja* is a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin, "translated as shame, modesty, bashfulness, embarrassment, or timidity by Monier-Williams in the Sanskrit to English dictionary" (Bhawuk, 2017, p. 112). The concept can further be expressed by the Urdu term *sharam* that, according to the Oxford Urdu-English dictionary, is a feminine noun to be defined

with the following words: shame, bashfulness, modesty, shyness, hesitation, honor, esteem, reputation.[6] Reflecting the argument of Wierzbicka (1994), *lajja* and *sharam* cannot simply be translated with one English equivalent as the concept denoted by these is potentially not present in the Anglo-American mindset. The concept evoked by these words is defined in the dictionary as a combination of shame and concepts related to it (e.g., modesty, embarrassment, shyness, honor). In the words of Sinha and Chauhan (2013), *lajja* is a culture-specific concept that "shares semantic space with shame but cannot be equated with it" (p. 142). An argument of the dissertation is that the analysis of the culture-specific concept of *lajja* is inevitable for two reasons: (1) in the literature (e.g., Bhawuk, 2017, Sinha and Chauhan, 2013, Menon and Shweder, 2010) it is stated that *lajja* is a culture-specific concept related to shame and (2) linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English corpora in which *shame* and *lajja* or *sharam* are simultaneously used in reference to shame scenarios. The language-based analysis of *lajja* is introduced in Chapter 7.

The scientific approaches to shame introduced in this section suggest that shame has features (i.e., it is a self-conscious, complex, and social emotion) that make this emotion prone to alternative conceptualizations across contexts with different sociocultural features. The concept of the SELF, the potential causes of the emotion, as well as folk conceptions of emotions are all linked to particular sociocultural characteristics of the Indian and the American contexts. After an overview of previous cognitive linguistic research on shame, the topic of the next chapter (Chapter 4) is, therefore, the notion of context. Chapter 4 gives an introduction to the features of the Indian and the American contexts that appear as relevant in the folk understanding of shame.

3.2 Previous cognitive linguistic research on shame

This section gives an overview of previous research on shame completed in Cognitive Linguistics and Cultural Linguistics or related fields. It addresses the studies of Tissari (2006), Jallad (2010), Sharifian and Jamarani (2011), Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón (2015) and Krawczak (2014).

3.2.1 Tissari's (2006) diachronic study

Tissari (2006) prepares a diachronic study on the concept of shame and compares her findings from two periods: from 1400-1900 and after 1990. She examines possible ways of understanding the emotion through English-language figurative linguistic expressions of shame. Tissari (2006) collects her data from various corpora: the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English; the Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English; the Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler; The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts; and the ARCHER

[6] Source: https://ur.oxforddictionaries.com/translate/urdu-english/ (Retrived on November 5, 2017).

(A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers) (Tissari, 2006, p. 143-144). Her aim is to discern which cognitive models frame the understanding of the emotion in the two periods in Anglo-American cultures. Tissari (2006) discusses her findings in light of Kövecses's (1986, 1990) cognitive linguistic analysis of PRIDE, claiming that the two emotions are linked.

Tissari's (2006) study is not an in-depth analysis of SHAME. It is a valuable starting point for further cognitive linguistic analyses on the concept for two reasons, however. Firstly, it presents the reader with preliminary findings about potential figurative understandings of the emotion. The majority of the figurative linguistic expressions Tissari (ibid) identifies in the corpora indicate that the conceptualization of SHAME is largely motivated in both periods by the bodily experiences with the emotion. The physiological and behavioral responses underlie the metonymical understanding of the concept (e.g., through the REDNESS IN THE FACE or the INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL MENTAL FUNCTIONING conceptual metonymies). Correlations in bodily experiences motivate the metaphorical understanding as well (e.g., in terms of the CONTAINER, the ILLNESS, the DIRT or the OBSTACLE metaphorical source domains). Tissari (ibid) describes a general cognitive model of SHAME and names two alternatives of the model: one is claimed to govern conceptualization in the contemporary understanding, the other in earlier periods.

Secondly, and most importantly, the study provides a collection of fruitful ideas on which research questions to consider in future studies on this emotion. Firstly, Tissari (ibid) emphasizes that "each aspect of the conceptualization of shame could be studied in more detail" (p. 153). This dissertation investigates the metaphorical understanding of the Indian and American concepts, with a focus on the aspects of conceptualization the identified metaphorical source domains indicate. Secondly, Tissari (ibid) names concepts related to SHAME so that she "manually searched for words sharing a context with the *shame* words" (p. 146). At the same time, she claims that "for a deeper analysis [of the concepts linked to SHAME], one might resort to a collocational analysis of corpus data" (p. 146). The collocation analysis of data is the methodology applied in the dissertation in identifying the concepts related to SHAME. Third, Tissari (ibid) further argues that shame is both a "self-centered emotion" and a "social and religious concept" and therefore, the extent to which the social context influences the conceptualization of the emotion needs to be investigated (p. 146). The dissertation hopes to find an answer to this research question so that it examines the concept in contexts with two characteristically different folk theories of emotions (i.e., the "Emotion as virtue" and the "Rational vs. emotional" cultural models, to be introduced in the next chapter). Finally, Tissari (ibid, p. 152) concludes her study with the following valuable idea:

> [If the force-dynamic] "prototypical cognitive model of emotion" [is considered as a] generalization which is valid for emotions, we need to ask if shame actually behaves like an emotion concept (…) or whether it is largely a moral concept as well. We might also wish to amend the "prototypical cognitive model of emotion" towards taking into account emotions in a social context.

In line with this, the dissertation argues that the Indian and American concepts of shame need to be examined so that a combination of the experientialist and the social constructivist approaches is applied. A combination of the two, the approach of body-based constructionism, leads to the simplified cultural model of emotions described in Chapter 2, and applied in the analysis of the Indian and the American concepts of shame in Chapter 8.

3.2.2 Jallad's (2010) lexical study

Jallad (2010) makes a comparative analysis of the definitions of *shame* in Arabic-English and English-Arabic dictionaries. The author argues that a methodology needs to be developed in order to be able to define "culture-loaded words" (Jallad, ibid, p. 31). Simple translation equivalents do not suffice to provide the complex web of meanings that particular concepts comprise.

Jallad (ibid) examines Arabic lexical items that indicate forms of understanding of shame that are characteristic of Arabic culture and that stem from the sociocultural characteristics of Arabic contexts. He names, among others, the following Arabic "'shame' variants" (p. 37): *khajal*, *haya* and *fadiha*. *Khajal* denotes a form of politeness and, as such, it is considered as a positive emotion. The possession of this emotion is manifest in, for instance, a child's polite behavior when meeting strangers. The child's possession of *khajal* is positive with respect to the child's family as well, because it assumes a good upbringing (p. 36). *Haya* is a "canonically good feeling, [it is] a moral power that guides one's behavior [and] a socially-shaped conscience that monitors one's actions" (Jallad, ibid, p. 38). *Fadiha* is best described as a combination of shame and embarrassment, as it refers to the emotion when the "weakness or faults" of a person are exposed to others (p. 40).

In his methodology, Jallad (ibid) follows a different approach from the one applied in the dissertation. His objective is to identify semantic primes and thus, to provide a "culture-free formula" the dictionaries could apply when preparing the entries of culturally-loaded words (p. 31). He applies the theoretical framework of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (Wierzbicka, 1986, Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2004), which, as discussed in Chapter 2, is criticized primarily because it cannot give a full account of emotion concepts, as it does not consider metaphoric and metonymic ways of understanding that point to the conceptual richness of the concepts the emotion words denote. Because of this, Jallad's (ibid)

methodology cannot serve as a model for the methodology applied in the dissertation. The study has relevance to the dissertation in that it emphasizes that shame is a concept that has potentially culture-specific forms, which are denoted by culture-specific terms. With this in mind, the dissertation studies not only Indian English linguistic expressions of shame, but also those in which the Hindi word *lajja* or the Urdu word *sharam* appear in reference to shame. As discussed in the previous sections, *lajja* and *sharam* are culture-specific terms denoting *lajja*, an Indian concept semantically related to SHAME.

3.2.3 Sharifian and Jamarani's (2011) study of the Persian concept of *sharmandegi* ('being ashamed')

Sharifian and Jamarani (2011) apply the theoretical framework of Cultural Linguistics in exploring the Persian concept of *sharmandegi* ('being ashamed'). The authors analyze linguistic data that, on the one hand, is inspired by their real life experiences and that, on the other hand, is collected from interviews with Iranians living in Australia. Sharifian and Jamarani (ibid) illustrate that awareness of cultural conceptualizations is essential in order to avoid possible misunderstandings in scenarios of intercultural communication. This is especially important in English-language communication contexts, where English serves as a common channel of exchanging ideas between speakers of different cultural backgrounds.

The authors introduce the Persian concept of *sharmandegi* and argue that it is associated with several speech acts, among others, with expressing gratitude, offering or requesting services, apologizing, or accepting offers and refusals (Sharifian and Jamarani, ibid, 233-235). By the English utterance "I am *ashamed*," it is possible that an Iranian speaker expresses any of the speech acts listed above, instead of making reference to the concept of shame in its Anglo-American meaning. This finding can be linked to the Indian English linguistic expressions of this dissertation that illustrate the phenomenon of code switching. Code switching happens when speakers of Indian English substitute the lexical item *shame* with the terms *lajja* or *sharam*.

The study of Sharifian and Jamarani (2011) and that of Jallad (2010) are relevant to the dissertation for the same reasons. They point out that the culture-specific, related meanings of shame (in this case the concept of *lajja*) should not be overlooked if we want a full understanding of the Indian concept of shame. Essentially, they make their examinations in the framework of English as an international lingua franca, and they illustrate that English terms may have culture-specific meanings, and speakers of different cultural backgrounds may use these terms with different interpretations. As it is shown in Chapter 7, in the analysis of the Indian concept of *lajja*, there are cases when Indian English *shame* refers to positive concept of *lajja*, and not to shame as a negative concept.

3.2.4 Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón's (2015) historical sociolinguistic study

Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón (2015) prepare a study on shame in two languages, Old Norse and Old English, applying a combination of Cognitive Linguistics and Historical Sociolinguistics. Old Norse and Old English are Proto-Germanic languages that came in contact during the Scandinavian rule (at beginning of 9th century), when Viking tribes were present in the Northern regions of the British Isles (Black, 2016). Old Norse, the language of the Vikings, had a heavy influence on the language of those living in the Northern parts of the isles. Old English was spoken in the territory of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (including much of today's England and also parts of today's Scotland) between the 5th and the 11th centuries (Black, 2016). The study is a thorough analysis of Old Norse and Old English linguistic expressions that provide information on the understanding of shame in the two languages and the corresponding social contexts. The Old Norse linguistic data is collected from the Dictionary of Old Norse Prose. The Old English linguistic expressions come from the Cognitively Annotated Corpus of Emotional Language and the Dictionary of Old English Corpus.

The study gives interesting findings, as it indicates that context leads to different forms of conceptualization. In pagan Viking social structure, group values and social hierarchy were in the foreground. Reflecting this, the Old Norse linguistic expressions of shame dominantly present the emotion as "an instrument of social control through which the deviant individual is publicly exposed and humiliated" (Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón, 2015, p. 225). In contrast to this, the Old English texts reflecting the Anglo-Saxon social structure depict shame as an individualized emotion, appearing as a result of "the individual's recognition of and repentance from his/her own wrongdoings and (…) fear of punishment" (ibid, p. 225). The authors explain the findings about the Old English texts with the impact of Christianization on Anglo-Saxon society and the resultant change in the value system. Whereas in the Old Norse text, forms of "public shame" ("the fear of being punished") are mainly identified, in Old English texts, examples of "private shame" dominate ("shame involves a negative evaluation of oneself") (Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón, 2015, p. 227). As the authors explain, the "linguistic developments are highly illustrative of the transition from a pagan society governed by the implicit threat of public shame to a Christian society that relies upon self-induced feelings of personal guilt and an intrinsic sense of subjective morality as the primary mechanisms of social control" (ibid, p. 227).

The authors compare the sociocultural features of the Viking and Anglo-Saxon contexts to the collectivist and individualist cultural dimensions of Hofstede (1990). Furthermore, they take sides in the potentially universal and context specific aspects of conceptualization, claiming that "universal biological responses to emotion experiences can be entirely ignored

by speakers in the conceptualization of (…) emotions" (ibid, p. 260). Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón (2015) argue that "very concrete social and cultural aspects of shame (related to the set of social practices used in both Germanic societies in order to inflict public shame on the deviant individual and as an instrument of social control) are a major conceptual source in Old English and Old Norse texts" (p. 260).

Because the study is concerned with the impact of context on conceptualization, its research focus is fully in line with this dissertation. An inspiring conclusion of Díaz-Vera and Manrique-Antón (2015) is that they differentiate public (social) and private (individualized) types of shame. Public (social) shame is detected in Old Norse texts reflecting a preference for collectivist values, while private (individualized) shame is more present in Old English texts that reflect a preference for individualist values. Because contemporary Indian and American contexts are similar to the Viking and Anglo-Saxon contexts in their preference for individualist and collectivist value preferences, it is possible that the two shame types (public/social and private/individualized) will be found in this dissertation as well.

3.2.5 Krawczak's (2014) cognitive corpus linguistic study

Krawczak (2014) applies a quantitative, corpus-driven methodology in her study of shame, "as designated by three lexemes: *ashamed*, *embarrassed*, and *humiliated*" (p. 84). She collects her linguistic data from the British National Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English. The study is prepared in the theoretical framework of Cognitive Corpus Linguistics in that it assumes that "contextualized language structure provides access to conceptual structure, which, in turn, gives (…) insights into cultural models of reality" (p. 84). The objective is not the analysis of the conceptual content of shame, however. Krawczak (ibid) collects her linguistic data with the purpose to test Wierzbicka's (1992, 1999) introspection-based hypothesis, namely that there is "a continuum of *ashamed*, through *humiliated*, to *embarrassed* along the parameters of emotional weight and temporal boundedness" (p. 85). As such, her research topic falls outside the scope of the dissertation, but several of her findings, especially her analysis of potential causes of shame, are highly relevant. Krawczak (ibid) proposes the following cause types: (1) bodily causes; (2) dubious social status; (3) inadequacy; (4) insecurity; (5) social failure; (6) social norm violation; and (7) social status loss (p. 86). Furthermore, she differentiates between internal ("coming from within the experiencer or related to his/her actions") and external ("coming from the outside world") cause types (p. 87). The classification of the causes identified in the dissertation is modelled after the types of causes established by Krawczak (ibid) because her research addresses the potential causes of the emotion in the greatest detail among the reviewed cognitive linguistic studies of SHAME.

Chapter 4: Context and conceptualization

Context is a broad term with various definitions in and outside of Cognitive Linguistics. "Various research traditions perceive and define context differently, emphasizing aspects of the concept they deem relevant" (Illés, 2012, p. 19). The scope of this dissertation does not extend to the discussion of the various definitions of context available in the literature. The aim of the chapter is to clarify the approach to and the definition of context used in the dissertation. The first part of the chapter starts with an overview of the literature on the possible approaches to context that is relevant to the examination of the conceptualization of SHAME in the Indian and the American contexts. These approaches examine context in light of its relationship to conceptualization. This is followed by stating in which sense context is used and which layer of conceptualization is analyzed in the dissertation. The second part, in light of what is described in the first part, describes the Indian and the American contexts in which SHAME is examined. The third section gives a brief introduction to Indian English and American English as these serve as the sources of the analysis of shame. These varieties, because they are channels of communication, are also regarded as elements of the context.

4.1. Context: Approaches and definitions

In her overview of the notion of context, Illés (2012) distinguishes between two main approaches: the analyst-oriented approach and the participant/process-oriented approach. These differentiate between two context types, *offline* and *online* contexts. With a focus specifically on the relationship of context and metaphorical meaning production, Kövecses (2015) distinguishes *global* and *local* contexts. The offline and the online, as well as the global and the local context types, can be considered as related in that they refer to particular levels of conceptualization.

4.1.1. The analyst-oriented approach: The *offline* context

In the analyst-oriented approach, context is defined by the researcher based on his/her observations and intuition "by selecting the relevant extralinguistic features of the situation" (Illés, 2012, p. 21). This theoretical approach is, above all, about establishing what context is constructed from. We can say that context, in this sense, consists of cultural, social, physical and environmental factors that form the contextual foundation of human meaning construction. The cultural characteristics of context are "the norms, values, and behavior patterns that serve as guidelines for people's interactions with others and their environments" (Radomsky, 2007, p. 285). Social factors are "relational systems of interaction among individuals and collectivities" (Kroeber and Parsons, 1958, p. 583). They are stable and dynamic factors such as social structure, gender roles and power relations, as

well as history (Radomsky, 2007, p. 285). The physical environment comprises, for instance, the flora and fauna characteristic of the environment.

Cultural, social and environmental factors can be separated for the purpose of analysis, but in reality they comprise an intertwining network. Further key elements of the context, people as conceptualizers, exist in this network. To the context, conceptualizers add their knowledge and experience that they have gained during their existence in the cultural-social-physical contexts and that they have stored in their long-term memory. In addition, conceptualizers provide their bodily experiences as one of the basic resources of conceptualization. The view of the body as a contextual factor comes from Kövecses's (2015) approach, where context is defined in light of the relationship between metaphorical meaning construction and context. In this interpretation of context, the body is a potentially universal source of conceptualization as an element of context.

In the analyst-oriented approach, the offline version of context is examined. Context in this sense is a "fixed generalization" (Illés, 2012, p. 24) and an "abstraction which serves as a tool for the analysis of various aspects of language use" (ibid, p. 23). It is a "mental representation," (ibid, p. 21), which underlies the meaning-making activities that happen between conceptualizers during actual, online interactions. The knowledge of conceptualizers stemming from this type of context is conceived as "an offline store of evocable mental constructs," which is ready to be activated in real-time scenarios of conceptualization (Harder, 2010, p. 219). This is a simplified conception of context, devoid of any ad hoc situational features of real-time interactions.

4.1.2. The participant/process-oriented approach: The *online* context

The participant/process-oriented approach is concerned with how context is built up and how conceptualization happens in real-time communicative situations. Context, in this approach, is a dynamic, online construct, in which "any part of the interactants' schematic knowledge can contribute to the creation of meaning" (Illés, 2012, p. 25). In this approach, throughout various stages of their interaction, the interlocutors negotiate meaning and "decide what counts as relevant" in creating context (Illés, 2012, pp. 21-26). The importance of relevance appears in further definitions of online context. As Widdowson (2007), in line with Firth (1957), explains, "context is not what is perceived in a particular situation, but what is conceived as relevant" by the participants of the context (p. 21).

Context, in this perspective too, is comprised of various elements. Kövecses (2015), examining context in relation to metaphorical conceptualization and metaphor production, names the following contextual factors in particular communicative situations: (1) the linguistic context (e.g., knowledge about the speakers and the topic); (2) physical

environment (e.g., “the salient properties of the environment” in which the communication takes place); (3) ideology (i.e., knowledge underlying the particular discourse); (4) social situation (i.e., “social aspects of the setting,” gender relations or social structure), (5) cultural situation (e.g., dominant norms and values); (6) history (i.e., “the memory of the events and objects in members of a group”); and (7) interest and concerns (i.e., the speakers’ “dedication to particular activities”) (pp. 53-59). The body and the conceptual system of the conceptualizer can be further added to these elements “as part[s] of the context that can influence metaphorical conceptualization” (ibid, p. 183). In the online approach, the body can be perceived as a contextual factor in the sense that the on-the-spot meaning-making activities are motivated by “subjective and sensory motor experience” (Kövecses, 2017, p. 184).

As the approach of Kövecses (2015) illustrates, the online context includes the factors active in the moment of the discourse (e.g., the linguistic context of the communication and the physical environment in which the discourse takes place), as well as elements of the offline context (e.g., ideology, social situation, cultural situation). That is, the online and offline contexts are intertwined because the aspects of the offline context underlie the entire online communicative situation or can be evoked if they are found to be relevant in the discourse.

4.1.3 The *global* and the *local* context

In discussing the effect of context on metaphorical conceptualization, Kövecses (2015) distinguishes two types of context: global and local. Global context “implies knowledge shared by an entire community of conceptualizers” (Kövecses, 2015, p. 188). This context “consists of the general knowledge concerning the nonimmediate situation that characterizes the community” (ibid, p. 188). Local context “involves the specific knowledge conceptualizers have about some aspect of the immediate communicative situation” (ibid). As the online and the offline context types are linked, so are the global and the local context types inseparable. The difference between the two is theoretical, in practice they have a “gradient-like character:” “there is no sharp dividing line between the two (…); there is a gradient where the local turns into global” (ibid, p. 188).

Linked with the approaches discussed in the previous section, it is suggested that the analyst-oriented approach is capable of studying the global context type, while the participant-oriented approach has the option to look into the local context type. Global context can be considered a type of offline context in the sense that both represent “a shared system of concepts in long-term memory (reflected in conventional linguistic usage)” (Kövecses, 2014, p. 25). In the same vein, local context can be considered a type of online

context, because both name context types in which "particular individuals conceptualize a specific situation making use of working memory" (Kövecses, 2014, p. 25).

4.2 Conceptualization

As we use the terms *online* and *offline* to distinguish between contexts, we actually describe conceptualization that happens under the effect of these two context types. In the given communication situation, the process of meaning production and meaning comprehension influenced by the online context is the online form of conceptualization. Conceptualization, which is the result of context as a "fixed generalization" about conceptualizers, the physical environment, as well as the cultural and social contextual features, is the offline form of understanding (Illés, 2012, p. 24).

The adjectives *online* and *offline* point to different types and levels of conceptualization. They correlate with Hofstede's (2001) model of human mental programming. Hofstede (2001) distinguishes the following levels: the universal, the collective and the individual. Analytical approaches to offline context are concerned with conceptualization at the level of the collective and the universal, whereas participant/process-oriented approaches to online context focus on conceptualization at the level of the individual. Hofstede (2001) emphasizes that the model is an abstract system that separates conceptualization into layers for research purposes. In reality, the three levels constitute an intertwined network, and they do not function independently. In the same vein, researches that address online and offline forms of conceptualization study two different sides of the same coin: the conceptual system as a process and as a product. "The conceptual system as a process is all the construal operations (e.g., schematization, metonymy or metaphor) that lead to the product" (Polzenhagen, 2016, p. 165). That is, when we study the understanding of a concept in a particular sociocultural context through linguistic examples of natural language, we simultaneously examine conceptualization as a process and as a product, and we simultaneously meet aspects of the offline/global and the online/local context as factors potentially impacting conceptualization.

4.3 Context and conceptualization in the dissertation

In its methodology, the dissertation applies a bottom-up approach, as it examines a relatively large number of linguistic expressions in order to explore SHAME. (The methodology used in the dissertation is described in detail in Chapter 5). The sources of the linguistic expressions are online corpora (comprised of Indian English and American English texts of newspapers and online forms of communication), and written surveys with speakers of Indian English. Linguistic expressions are instances of natural language, as all of them are created by conceptualizers at a given time and space. In the moment of their

utterance, all linguistic expressions that illustrate the conceptualization of SHAME might have been motivated by the features of the online/local context, which, as summarized in Section 4.1.1.1, includes the features of the offline/global context as well. In the moment of their utterance, all linguistic expressions are online forms of conceptualization at the level of the individual (who created the specific utterance). As part of the corpus database, all linguistic expressions are instances of natural language the analysis of which helps us explore the relationship between individual-level conceptualizations and (online/local and offline/global) contexts. In addition, the features of individual-level conceptualizations help us draw conclusions about features of conceptualization of the sociocultural group the individuals belong to.

Depending on the type and the methodology of the research, *sociocultural group* can be defined in several ways. It can be used in reference to a particular group of people within a larger community (e.g., the Hindu community in Orissa in the research of Menon and Shweder (2010) on *lajja*). It can further denote the entire sociocultural group (e.g., mainstream American culture in the cognitive linguistic investigation of anger conducted by Lakoff and Kövecses, 1987). In the dissertation, conceptualizers are the speakers of Indian English and American English, who are considered as members of Indian and American sociocultural groups. From the features of the individual-level conceptualizations of these speakers, conclusions can be drawn about features of conceptualization on the level of the collective. The folk theories of concepts (i.e., the cognitive-cultural models) are formulated on this collective level.

It has to be emphasized that conceptualization on the level of the collective is not the sum of individual-level conceptualizations. From the features of individual-level conceptualization, conclusions may be drawn regarding collective, community-level conceptualizations, but the two do not fully overlap. There may be forms of conceptualization on the level of the collective that are not part of conceptualization on the level of the individual. Similarly, there may be individual-level conceptualizations that are not part of community-level interpretations. This idea is the key to the concept of *cultural cognition* as defined in Cultural Linguistics (Sharifian, 2017). Cultural cognition is the collective cognition of the individuals who belong to the same cultural group (Sharifian, 2008, 2017). It is described as a group-level, emergent and collective phenomenon in that it depicts ways of understanding that are "heterogeneously distributed across the minds in a cultural group" (Sharifian, 2008, p. 114). It is dynamic as "it is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated across generations and through contact between speech communities" (Sharifian, 2017, p. 24).

The main argument of the dissertation is that the sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts determine Indian and American conceptualizations of SHAME and lead to different folk theories of the concept. The term *sociocultural* is used in reference to the set

of social and cultural features of the context that are believed to be relevant to the understanding of shame. These include the dominant ideologies of the contexts (i.e., the definition of the concept of SELF), the preferred value systems (i.e., collectivist or individualist value systems), philosophies (e.g., Puritanism, Hinduism, Rasa aesthetic theory) and social relations (primarily based on one's gender). Regarding the type of context, the dissertation is primarily concerned with the Indian and the American contexts in the offline and global sense, and it is interested in the effects of these on conceptualization. With respect to the level of conceptualization, the aim is to explore the folk theories (cognitive-cultural models) of shame on the level of the collective. The dissertation tries to draw conclusions about the Indian and the American collective-level conceptualizations of SHAME through the analysis of a relatively large number of linguistic expressions describing shame, created by individual speakers of Indian English and American English. That is, the dissertation is concerned with the level of understanding that the cultural linguistic concept *cultural cognition* denotes (Sharifian, 2017).

4.4 The Indian and the American context

Establishing the sociocultural features of the offline Indian and American contexts is not an unproblematic task. India is "an immensely diverse country with many distinct pursuits, vastly disparate convictions, widely divergent customs and a veritable feast of viewpoints" (Sen, 2005, ix). Contemporary Indian culture "refers collectively to the thousands of distinct and unique cultures of all religions and communities present in India."[7] In India, different religions, customs and languages are dominant depending on the region and the social structure. American culture is similarly diverse. The concept of society as a "salad bowl" nicely illustrates the phenomenon that the American context consists of culturally different groups (Mahfouz, 2013). Like the ingredients of a salad, they create a whole (modern American culture) but not a homogeneous one. Each culture keeps its own qualities, reflecting the American features that encompass and overall characterize the culture of the community to different degrees.

Because of this complexity, it is difficult to formulate what "Indian" and "American" means without running into generalizations or stereotypes. It is important to stress that cultures are not to be handled as simplified and monolithic contexts (in either the offline or the online sense). For the purpose of the analysis of SHAME in the dissertation, however, it is inevitable to identify the sociocultural characteristics that differentiate the Indian and the American contexts. The aim is to point out differences in the two contexts to which the potential differences in the folk conceptualizations of SHAME can be traced back. The methodology of the dissertation requires an approach that uses "general" contextual features, since, in case of the Indian English and the American English data collected from the corpora, it is not

[7] Source: Celebrations of India (2017) <http://celebrationsinindia.com/>

possible to distinguish the exact region, religion, subculture or social group the conceptualizers within the Indian or American sociocultural context belong to. For methodological reasons, the dissertation cannot examine these variants within the contexts. This justifies why context in the dissertation is considered in the offline sense, as well as why the entirety of the Indian and the American sociocultural groups and their collective-level cultural conceptualizations are in scope.

For the purpose of the analysis of the linguistic data, the Indian and the American sociocultural groups are considered as a whole (consisting of several subgroups and their characteristics). By the sociocultural features of the two contexts I mean the ones that are dominant in the Indian and American sociocultural groups (as a whole) and that appear as relevant to the conceptualization of shame. To repeat here, such sociocultural characteristics are dominant ideologies (i.e., the definition of SELF), the preferred value systems (i.e., collectivist or individualist value systems), the philosophies (i.e., Puritanism, Hinduism, Rasa aesthetic theory), and the gender and power relations characteristic of the contexts.

4.4.1 The Indian context

4.4.1.1 The sociocultural characteristics of the Indian context

A major characteristic of the structure of the Indian society is its restrictive nature. A good illustration of this is the strict, hierarchical stratification of the society along the lines of the caste system. With respect to its roots, the caste system traces back to Hindu religious philosophy and, in its original understanding, it represents the division of individuals by the type of work they do. Sanskrit texts from the 2nd millennium BC are the first to refer to the practice of dividing individuals into social groups called *varnas* (*varna* is a Sanskrit word for *color* and *class*)[8]. The four main *varnas* give the four main castes of society: the Brahmins (the priests and the scientists), the Kshatriyas (the administrators and the military), the Vaishyas (the traders and the farmers) and the Sudrad (the laborers and the service workers). The Dalits (the Untouchables/the Scheduled Castes) are outside the caste system at the lowest social level. As Pillari (2005) explains, "there are a large number of sub-classifications" within all four *varnas*" (p. 396).

People "function" as members of the caste they are born into, and it is not possible to change one's caste. The caste system represents a strict hierarchy. The caste system in India is viewed ambiguously. On the one hand, it is the traditional approach to the stratification of people, and as such it is accepted and respected. On the other hand, discrimination may arise from the differences between the castes and, explicitly, from low caste membership. As Pillari (2005) explains, "although the Indian constitution specifically outlaws the

[8] Source: http://spokensanskrit.de/index.php?tinput=varNa

demeaning and oppressive aspects of the caste system, caste consciousness and hierarchical relations based on caste distinction have not disappeared from the modern political and social scene" (pp. 383-384). As will be shown in Chapter 6, birth in low castes and the poverty associated with that may be a potential trigger of shame in the Indian context.

Gender roles and gender relations further add to the restrictive nature of the social structure. Gender-based roles are imposed socially so that individuals can contribute to the functioning of the community according to their gender. In this case, community, above all, means family, and, in a broader sense, the community constituted by the families. India is a strongly masculine culture, where social groups are formed around men. Men contribute to the functioning of the community by being the head of the family. It is their responsibility to secure the financial stability and the future of the family. Men are the main decision-makers in family matters. The role of women is completely different. In line with the traditions, they maintain the home, raise the children, and support their husbands. Women are primarily defined in reference to their relationship with men. Widows are excluded from communities in many regions in India, because their social status cannot be defined in the absence of their relationship to men. There are differences in the roles women have across regions (in large cities, for instance, in New Delhi or Bangalore, many attend institutions of higher education, have jobs or are in high, responsible positions). On the whole, as Chhibber (2014) argues, women have a secondary social status as compared to men.

This is potentially related to the argument that there is an overall preference for male descendants in India (Vanneman et al., 2010). "An overwhelming majority of men and women consider it important to have at least one son in their family" (Priya et al., 2014, p. vii). There are cultural and economic reasons for this preference. As Vanneman et al. (2010) explain, "in patrilineal families, it is the tie between father and son, not husband and wife, that is the key social relationship" (p. 6). With regard to the structure of Indian families, "a central tenet [especially of the North Indian kinship systems] is that brides are brought into the family" (ibid, p. 5). A consequence of this, from an economic perspective, is that it is not worth investing in daughters as they end up belonging to another family (another economic unit) after they get married. "The custom is for the daughter-in-law to live in the home of her husband and his family" (Thandi, 2011, p. 63). Sons are responsible for taking care of their aged parents. "Couples with only daughters face a potential future of deprivation and loneliness" (Vanneman et al., 2010, p. 6). As, in traditional belief, it is more profitable to invest resources into the education of sons than into the education of daughters, female descendants tend to be deprived of the options male descendants are granted.

Because of the dowry system, girls may be a financial liability for the family (Parr, 2014). The dowry system has traditional roots. Dowry is the amount of money or the gifts the parents provide to the family of the man their daughter is about to marry. The ideal

marriage in India is the institutional bond between sons and daughters who have the same cultural and economic background and who are members of the same caste. Marriage in the traditional sense is arranged. It is the family who looks for the ideal partners of their descendants, and it is the father (as head of the family) who makes the final decision. The purpose of arranged marriage is to ensure that the future of the family is secured. Marriage in India is not an institutional bond between individuals but, essentially, a bond between families (Frey, 2014). Deviations from this model of marriage (e.g., love marriages or inter-caste marriages), are, in general, not accepted. This gives rise to the assumption that Indian culture is tight and intolerant toward deviations from traditions.

Compliance with social norms and conformity are of utmost importance. Conformity with the norms is the overall goal of every member of the society, which is possible through accepted forms of lifestyle and behavior, and appropriate traits. For women, anticipated ways of living includes, for example, that they should bear a child shortly after marriage (Khandelwal, 2002). Anticipated forms of behavior include appearance and ways of communication appropriate in the given social situation. As for appearance, women are expected to cover themselves appropriately in public. The extent to which they should cover themselves varies by region. In the north, the practice of *ghoonghat* pertains to the whole body (including the head and the face), while in other regions it is rather body parts associated with sexuality (shoulders, belly, knees, breasts, loins and the neck) that need to stay hidden. The appearance of women in the family home is governed by similar rules, especially in the presence of male relatives (excluding the husband). Similar rules apply to communication. For women, it is not acceptable to talk to men in public (e.g., in the street) they are not relatives of. In the family home, female members of the family typically do not engage in conversations with male guests they do not know, and they retreat from their company. For women, the socially preferred traits are modesty, timidity, and restraint. Norms regarding men are "mostly governed by patriarchal ideologies," in which men are the stronger sex (Thandi, 2011, p. 60). Regarding anticipated ways of living, men are, for example, expected to marry in line with the wishes of their family and to maintain the family's stable financial and social status. Irrespective of whether they live in rural or urban settings, men are respected only if they do everything for their families. Expected forms of behavior and traits include determination and strength (Thandi, 2011).

The basic unit of existence for individuals in India is the family. It is the joint family model that dominates. In a joint family, "the father, the son, the son's wife and the children all live together" (Sharma, 2004, p. 47). Several generations and several kinds of relatives are considered central members. This does not change even if younger generations of the joint family live outside India and older generations stay in the homeland. The interdependence of the members is highly valued (Thandi, 2011, p. 62). It is the man's primary responsibility to ensure the stable social status of the family, but every family member shares this task in

practice. If a family member stumbles, it is as if the head of the family and the whole family stumbled. In this context, honor is a key concept. In addition to maintaining social conformity (or as a part of it), compliance with social norms is necessary to maintain the honor of the family.

Numerous studies (e.g., Bhawuk, 2011, Sinha, 1985, Sinha and Verma, 1987, Triandis, 1995, Verma, 1999, Verma and Triandis, 1999) suggest that there is a preference for collectivist values in India. As Sinha (1982) explains, people are "linked to the rest of the social body by a network of incredibly diversified ties, and the 'Hindu' self is structured more around we, ours, and us than around I, mine or me" (p. 153). At the same time others (e.g., Mishra, 1994, Tripathi, 1988, Sinha et al., 2001) indicate that Indian culture carries basic individualist traits as well. As Tripathi (1988) explains, "the Indian model of man places a strong emphasis on the realization of the self, although one is also asked to transcend it in the interest of the larger society" (pp. 324-325). The dualism of the two value systems is detectable in the Hindu religious philosophies of Indian culture. Tripathi (1988, pp. 29-31) summarizes this in the following quote:

> There is one universal spirit (the Brahman) and several individual souls/selves (the Atman, the true self). All Atman are part of the Brahman, but they have an order depending on how close they are to the Brahman. This is referred to as 'cosmic collectivism.' The ultimate goal of each Atman is to get as close to the Brahman as possible. The journey for this union is individualistic in nature. This journey is about biological beings turning spiritual ones, and about the Chitta (the dispositional mind) going through and transforming via milestones in life. The milestones are the life goals of Artha (earning money and acquiring material things), Dharma (discharging personal duties and obligations according to the age, gender and caste-based roles) and Kaama (seeking sensuous including sexual pleasure).

This is related to Hindu reincarnation (the cycle of death and rebirth) as identity in one's life is dependent on deeds in the previous life. This is how karma becomes one's responsibility. While individuals attempt to achieve their goals by their own efforts, "in the process they transcend the narrowness of their individual self and expand it to include not only the near and dear ones in the family but also the larger collectives and in fact the whole universe," which again puts the entire journey back in a collectivist frame (Sinha, 1998, p. 154).

Lewis (1999) explains the Indian dualism of individualism and collectivism with the argument that people in this sociocultural context are collectivist in their local groups, but they are individualist in their behavior towards others who are not members of their social

network. Mishra (1994) finds that the younger generations in urban areas tend to have a slight preference for individualist values, as opposed to older generations or those in rural areas.

In the Indian context, the self-definition of individuals takes on meaning in a context in which the family plays a central role, the focus is on community interests, and compliance with social norms and the observation of traditions is emphasized. As Khandewal (2004) explains, "in India, people are embedded in social relationships and communal identities" (pp. 119-120). It is the roles and obligations in terms of which one's identity is defined (Lewis, 1999, pp. 340-346). People are defined in reference to the family and the social group to which they belong. People are family-oriented, so much that family matters are likely to be mixed with professional affairs (Lewis, 1999, pp. 340-346).

"People behave according to their community affiliation, religion, caste, class, and gender" (Khandewal, 2004, pp. 119-120), which suggests that the Indian concept of SELF is an interdependent one. Bhawuk (2011, p. 12) supports this argument with linguistic examples and, in a study on words referring to relationships, he draws the following conclusions:

> In most Indian languages we have single words not only for members of the nucleus family, i.e., father, mother, brother, and sister but also for members of the extended family. Paternal grandfather (dada), maternal grandfather (nana), paternal grandmother (dadee), maternal grandmother (nanee), maternal uncle (mama), paternal uncle (chacha), maternal aunt (masi), paternal aunt (bua, foofee), and so forth. Having a single word indicates the value attached to the concept in the culture, and clearly, the extended family is quite important in India, this presenting face validity that people in India have the interdependent concept of self.

Balridge (1996) draws a similar conclusion in studying the same topic in Indian English. The identification of compounds like *cousin-brother* and *cousin-sister* denote specific family relationships similarly to the terms identified by Bhawuk in a local language.

It is the INTERDEPENDENT SELF that dominates conceptualization in the Indian context (Tsai, 2007). In the analysis of Kövecses (2006), the INTERDEPENDENT SELF is linked to concepts that reflect the contextual characteristics described above. These, among others, are COOPERATION, SHARING, CARE, SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT, SOCIAL INTEREST or OTHER-CENTEREDNESS (Kövecses, 2006, pp. 35-36). As will be discussed in the next section, there are concepts further related to the concept of SELF besides the ones just listed. Additional concepts related to the concept of the SELF stem from context-specific folk theories of EMOTION.

4.4.1.2 Theories of emotions: The "Emotion as virtue" model

An element of the Indian sociocultural context relevant to the understanding of SHAME is a philosophy about emotions, the Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics. As Ramaprasad (2013) explains, in this traditional approach, emotions are seen as "component[s] of personality arising out of the contact of ego or *ahamkara* with the external world" (p. 153). This theory differentiates between main and subsidiary emotions, the interactions of which create particular virtues of a person. As Ramaprasad (2013, p. 154) argues, there are eight main moods (*rasas*) that correspond to eight major emotions (*bhavas*):

> The moods are *sringara* (love), *hasya* (comic), *karuna* (pathos), *raudra* (furious), *vira* (heroic), *bhayanaka* (horror), *bibhasta* (odious), *adbhuta* (marvel). The corresponding emotions are *rati* (erotic), *hasa* (mirth), *soka* (sorrow), *krodha* (anger), *utsaha* (energy), *bhaya* (fear), *jugupsa* (disgust), *vismaya* (astonishment).

The secondary emotions (e.g., apprehension, cruelty, anxiety, envy or eagerness) are related to the major emotions but, compared to the major emotions, they are more temporal in nature (Cahill, 1999). As Bhawuk (2017) explains, in the center of this theory are the 26 virtues (or personality traits) that are required "for a human being to be fully functional" (p. 114). "These are noble virtues (…) to be acquired through practice by human beings in their life and to be translated into daily living" (*ibid*). The 26 virtues, quoted from Bhawuk (2017, pp. 114-115) are the following:

> fearlessness, purification of the self, awareness of the spiritual self, charity, restraint of the senses, spiritual activity, the ability to calm the mind, control the body (e.g., through fasting), straightforwardness, non-violence of thought/ speech/ deed, speaking of the truth, non-anger, non-attachment, peace, non-calumny, compassion for all beings (absence of greed), non-covetedness, gentleness, absence of unsteadiness, moral power, forgiveness, steadfastness, external and internal self-purification, absence of resentment, and absence of seeking any attention or importance.

Lajja is an additional virtue that comprises all the listed virtues. In Bhawuk's (2017) words, "the importance of *lajjA* can be seen in its association with the 26 virtues, (…) when one cultivates [these], *lajjA* becomes the gatekeeper or the 'Go/No-Go' test in the cultivation of each of the other 25 virtues" (p. 115).

The 26 virtues contribute to the individual and social functioning of people and, as such, can be thought of as concepts related to INTERDEPENDENT SELF. In this approach, emotions

are inherent elements in the balanced existence of individuals. Importantly, they are not forces that exert control on the individual with the aim of pushing him/her into an imbalanced, irrational state. They are controlling forces that are necessary in keeping the individual balanced. With the possession of emotions as virtues, the individual becomes fully functional in both the private (physical and spiritual) and social spheres of life. That is, biological and mental diseases bypass the individual. The individual behaves in line with the social norms and expectations (Bhawuk, 2017). In this approach to emotions, emotional states are not irrational and not imbalanced. Emotion and rationality are not opposites. Emotions as virtues are tools of maintaining balance. Applying the simplified cultural model structure provided in Section 2.2.3 and taking the prototypical emotion scenario of Kövecses (2000a, p. 128-129) as a basis, it is suggested that this understanding of emotions includes the following details and steps:

1. Self (S) is calm.
2. Cause of emotion: An external event or an internal desire exerts an impact on S. This evokes the emotion (E) in S.
3. E is not a separate entity from S. E is an inherent part of S.
4. In light of E, the external event or the internal desire that exerts an impact on S is either viewed as acceptable or not acceptable. Acceptability is measured against S's relations to others. It is measured against social norms and approved forms of behavior.
5. E is the judge in the scenario. S has no intention to counteract E. S and E are not opposing forces.
6. Existence of emotion: E appears as a force that withholds S from unacceptable acts. It is a force that lets S act in response to the external event or the internal desire if they are considered acceptable.
7. Effect of emotion: S reacts to the external event or the internal desire under the force of E. That is, in compliance with social norms, valued traits and expectations. As such, S is valued and respected by others.
8. S is not irrational or imbalanced at any stage of this scenario. S would become imbalanced if S acted against the force of E. In that scenario, S would be condemned by others and S would become a potential source of shame.

As Kövecses (2000a) argues, "many expert or scientific theories of emotion can be viewed as extensions of folk models" (p. 137). With this in mind, it is plausible to suggest that Rasa aesthetic theory motivates the Indian folk understanding of emotions. The theory is consistent with many features of the Indian sociocultural context. As described in the previous section, a key feature of the Indian sociocultural context is that community is in the center, and that conformity is of major importance. Conformity with the norms is the overall goal of every member of the society, which is possible through accepted forms of

living and behavior, and appropriate traits. In this context, traits desired in individuals are the ones that contribute to the cohesion of the community. Most of the 26 virtues listed in Rasa theory may be considered to serve this purpose. For instance, compassion for all beings (absence of greed), moral power, absence of seeking any attention or importance, the ability to calm the mind or non-anger are characteristics that assist people in living in communities, and that support maintaining the functionality of the community. The list of virtues in Rasa theory includes compliance with rules and expectations. It is determined in light of *lajja* as a master virtue which acts are inconsistent with the rules and, thus, potentially shameful, and which are in line with the norms and, thus, respected. It is this function through which the concept *lajja* is primarily connected to the Indian concept of shame. In the dissertation, the Indian folk understanding of emotions motivated by the Rasa aesthetic theory is referred to as the "Emotion as virtue" model.

4.4.2 The American context

4.4.2.1 The sociocultural characteristics of the American context

A main characteristic of the American sociocultural context is that individuals are in the center. This mindset has historical roots. Since the arrival of the first settlers in New England in the 17th century, Puritanism as a cultural force exerted influence on both religious thought and cultural patterns. Puritan living was centered around the church and the family. At the same time, Puritanism advocated values according to which individual strength, strong sense of mission, as well as the faith that one is capable of achieving one's goal with hard work are important. The fundamental values stemming from Puritanism are included in the documents that lay the foundation of American democracy. The Declaration of Independence (1776) refers to individuals who are equal and who have the same rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."[9] The U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights (1791) ensures individual rights for freedom of speech, press, and religion.

As focus is shifted towards individual performance, the related value system evolves. There is an overall preference for individualism in the American context. It is individuals who are strong, unique, self-responsible and practice-oriented, and who have the ability to take initiatives that are the most valued. Competition is a fundamental element of this society, both among individuals and among groups of individuals. Therefore, those traits have priority that most improve the chance of winning. In this individualist setting, people are expected to stand out and shape their environment so that it fits their needs. This is in sharp contrast to contexts with preference for collectivist values, where it is modesty, restraint, and the ability to adjust and keep traditions that are the most valued qualities.

[9] http://www.ushistory.org/DECLARATION/document/

The fact that individuals are in the center impacts the meaning of the concept of the SELF. In the contemporary American context, it is individual achievement that serves as the basis of self-definition. Americans primarily define who they are by the work they do, the goals they have and what they have achieved. In the American view, "you create your own worth rather than receiving it by virtue of birth, position, seniority or longevity" (Storti and Bennhold-Samaan, 2010, p. 48). This is in sharp contrast to findings of similar studies in contexts with preference for collectivist values, where people define themselves by their relations with the community. In contexts with preference for collectivist values, "you define yourself in terms of the social roles you assume or the groups to which you belong" (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). In the American context, the self is characteristically the INDEPENDENT SELF (Tsai, 2007). In Kövecses's analysis (2006), the concept of INDEPENDENT SELF is related to furhter concepts that reflect the characteristics of the American context. These are, for instance, SELF-INTEREST, SELF-EXPRESSION, SELF-INDULGENCE or COMPETITION (ibid, 2006, pp. 35-36).

Preference for individualistic values spread to many other areas of social existence. With respect to gender roles and gender relations, for instance, the American context is significantly less tight in comparison to the Indian context. As for gender-based roles, there are no strict rules stating that women are responsible for serving their families and men are responsible for securing the finances of the family. When raising children, for instance, the father has the option to stay on parental leave at home with the children, while the mother goes back to work to make a living. In comparison to the Indian context, women have significantly more options to pursue their studies. Gender equality is a debated topic in the American context as well (e.g., Ortenblad et al., 2017) but, compared to the Indian context, there is a tighter gap between the two genders. The difference in gender roles and gender relations in the two contexts is potentially related to a finding of the dissertation, namely that shame appears as a gender-loaded concept in the Indian English linguistic examples, while it is less so in the American English data.

The individualist value system determines which concepts are salient in particular contexts. Williams (1965) argues that the concept of romantic love is outstanding in the American context. "Songs, literature, mass media, and 'folk beliefs' all stress this value, and sometimes include the theme that 'love conquers all'" (Williams, 1965, p. 44). As stated earlier, the right to the pursuit of happiness should be granted to all individuals. As such, romantic love is part of everyday living and its salience affects the appearance of other phenomena as well. For instance, the institution of marriage – in sharp contrast to the Indian conception, where marriage is typically arranged – is based on the concept of romantic love (Kövecses, 2006). Marriage is typically the outcome of a romantic relationship. This, in turn, determines the potential causes of shame in relation to marriage. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, in the Indian context, going against the institution of arranged marriage (as a

social norm) is a potential cause of shame. In the American context, a potential cause of shame is being unmarried, which is interpreted as a weakness, a disability and a symbol of not achieving one's happiness.

It is important to note that although individualist traits dominate the American context, there are traces of collectivist values to discover. A good example of this is patriotism, symbolized, for instance, by having the national flag on the outside of homes. Patriotism is a form of team spirit, which comes from the collaborative representation of traditionally American values. Collectivist traits appear in American political life, as well as in people's attitudes to politics. Several of the linguistic expressions collected from the corpora illustrate that shame (i.e., the shame of the country) is linked to political figures (e.g., to the president as the the symbol of the country) or to political decisions (e.g., the engagement of the U.S. in military conflicts outside U.S. territories). The importance of the family as a basic social unit points to further collectivist traits. The relationship between family members is different in the American context compared to the Indian context, however. As Hao (2015) explains, the relationship between family members is looser in American culture. In comparison to the Indian family model, the descendants are less likely to be expected to follow strict orders from their parents. This is because of the expectation that individuals make their own decisions. The need for and the respect of private space is an inherent part of American family life. This again stands in sharp contrast to the Indian family model, where privacy is not emphasized. In fact, family members tend to spend much of their time in the same space at home in India. Whereas, the dominant model, in Indian culture, is the joint family, in American culture, it is the nuclear family. Nuclear families consist of parents and children and they do not include the extended kin.

4.4.2.2 Theories of emotions: The "Rational vs. Emotional" model

The American folk theory of emotions is an example of the cultural model of emotions introduced in Section 2.1.4. In essence, this is "the most general notion of the Western [Anglo-American] folk theory of emotion [in which] (1) a cause leads to emotion and (2) emotion leads to some response" (Kövecses, 2000a, p. 64). This is a force dynamic interpretation of emotion scenarios, where the cause, the emotion and the person experiencing the emotion are all perceived as forces. The cause triggers the emotion, the emotion forces the person to react in particular ways and the person, at a particular stage in the scenario, aims to control the force of the emotion as a counterforce. Essentially, in this understanding, emotions and rationality are conflicting opposites. As Kövecses (2000a) argues, from a perspective of metaphorical understanding, the "underlying coherence behind the conceptual metaphors [of the EMOTION IS FORCE master metaphor] makes it possible for us to see the precise ways in which the emotion domain is conceptualized in a

systematically different way from other 'neighboring' generic-level domains, such as rational thought" (p. 61). In the frame of force-dynamic interaction (Talmy, 2003),

> "typically, though not exclusively, the Agonist is instantiated by the rational self that is or will be emotional, while the Antagonist is instantiated by the cause of emotion or the emotion itself. Correspondingly, the Agonist's typical force tendency in the emotion domain is to remain unaffected by the Antagonist, whereas the Antagonist's force tendency is to cause the Agonist to change" (Kövecses, 2000a, p. 63).

Inherent in this understanding of emotions is that the rational state (a state unaffected by the emotion) is considered as the balanced state, while the emotional state (the state affected by the emotion) is regarded as imbalanced. This conception is reflected in expressions as for instance "I *lost my mind* (to anger)" or "I was *beside myself* (with joy)." As Kövecses (2000a) argues, "a crucial aspect of metaphorical reasoning [about emotions] is the 'point beyond which' emotional control cannot be maintained" (p. 68). The person becomes emotional if control over the self is taken over by emotion from reason (ibid).

Applying the simplified cultural model structure provided in Section 2.2.3 and taking the prototypical emotion scenario of Kövecses (2000a, p. 128-129) as a basis, the steps of this prototypical emotion scenario are the following:

1. Self (S) is emotionally calm.
2. Cause of emotion: An external event exerts an impact on S and makes the emotion (E) come into existence.
3. E is a separate entity from S and it exists independently of S.
4. Involved in E is a desire (D), and D forces S to perform an action (A) that can satisfy D. S knows that A is dangerous and/or unacceptable. It can cause physical or psychological harm to the person and/or others.
5. Existence of emotion: It requires effort for S to counteract the force of E. However, S in the emotional state is nonrational, and the strength of E increases beyond the point that S could control E.
6. Effect of emotion: S is irrational. S behaves in order to appease D.
7. E's D is now appeased and S no longer feels emotional.
8. E ceases to exist and S is calm.

In this understanding, emotions typically get expressed. The person typically performs behavioral reactions under the control of the emotion in order to make the emotion cease to exist. As such, emotion scenarios end with the person regaining his/her balance. This conception of emotions is likely to have philosophical roots in the classical-medieval notion

of the four humors, "from which the Euro-American conceptualization of (…) emotion in general derived (Geeraerts and Grondelaers, 1995)" (Kövecses, 2000a, p. 168). According to this theory, there are four main humors in the human body: bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. These correspond to particular emotions and personality types. If a humor overburdens the body, the amount of that humor (the surplus) has to be removed in order to restore the balance. By analogy, emotions have to be expressed in order for the individual to turn back to his/her naturally balanced state. Because the contrast between the emotional and the rational state is at the core of the American folk understanding of emotions, this model, in the dissertation, is labeled as the "Rational vs. emotional" folk theory.

In terms of this model, emotions are primarily internal and private feelings. This model describes the emotion scenario from the perspective of the individual and in relation to the individual. Only one stage (the 4th) in the scenario is concerned with the potential effects of the individual's emotion on others. This is in line with the primary feature of the American sociocultural context, namely that the individual is in the foreground. Related to this is the research finding, according to which "people's cultural worlds are structured in ways that promote and highlight emotions and emotional responses that are beneficial in achieving central goals in their culture" (Boiger, De Deyne and Mesquita, 2013, p. 867). The dominance of the perspective of the individual in the model foreshadows which emotions are welcome to be expressed in the American context and which are not. Boiger, Deyne and Mesquita (2013) argue that, for instance, happiness and anger are freely expressed emotions as they are consistent with the desired and valued traits of individuals in the American sociocultural context. Shame, on the other hand, "undermines the cultural goal of standing out and achieving high self-esteem," and, therefore, "cultural practices in the United States appear to steer clear of shame by down-regulating, avoiding, (…) suppressing or transforming" the emotion (ibid, p. 867).

It is not to claim that the "Emotion as virtue" and the "Rational vs. Emotional" folk conceptions are the only models that frame the understanding of shame (or other emotion concepts) in the Indian and the American contexts. It is possible that there are various other models. These, however, because they seem to reflect sociocultural characteristics of the contexts that are relevant to the understanding of shame, are considered potential prototypes. As such, they have to be considered in the analysis of SHAME. The purpose of introducing the two models as part of the discussion of the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian and the American contexts is to highlight that differences in the Indian and the American concepts of shame potentially come as a result of different folk understandings of emotions in general.

4.5 Indian English and American English

4.5.1 Indian English

The dissertation examines the understanding of SHAME in the Indian sociocultural context through the analysis of Indian English linguistic expressions. In Kachru's (1985, 2005a, 2005b) approach, Indian English is outer-circle English. English first reached India in the frame of the British trade expeditions of the 1600s. It became part of the everyday life as the trading posts (East India Company, 17th and 18th century), the presidencies (company rule in India, 18th and 19th century) and the provinces (The British Raj, 19th–20th century) were built. Before British colonization, the Indian states did not form a coherent unity (Vijayalakshmi and Babu, 2014). As a result of the British presence, however, English started to function as a lingua franca between speakers of various languages. The language did not disappear after India gained independence from Great Britain in 1947. It earned an official language status. As Négyesi (in Bányai, 2010) explains, of all the languages India got in touch with in the course of history (e.g., Turkish, French and Portuguese), English kept its position and became the "father tongue."

In any discussion about Indian English, it is important to note that it is a nativized (Kachru 2005a) and glocalized (Sharifian, 2010) variety of English. As Sharifian (2013) explains, "in its journey across the globe, English has become increasingly localised by many communities of speakers around the world, adopting it to encode and express their cultural conceptualizations, a process that may be called glocalisation of the language." As Frey (2014) puts it, Indian English is "to be regarded as a distinct variety that (…) is used like an Indian language expressing Indian identities" (p. 36).

A key feature of Indian English is that it mixes English lexical items with lexical items borrowed from a main local language (e.g., from Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Telugu or Tamil). This linguistic behavior is called *code-switching*. Code-switching is a conscious communicative act (Sinha, 2009). It is a conscious decision if the speaker believes that a lexical item in the local language is better to use instead of the English equivalent in order to express the intended meaning (Sinha, 2009). The Indian English linguistic expressions of shame analyzed in the dissertation illustrate the phenomenon of code- switching. This will be addressed in detail in Chapter 7, in the analysis of the Indian concept of *lajja*.

Indian English is a regional variety of South Asian English (Kachru, 2005b, p. 153). *Indian English* is, in fact, an umbrella term for all the subvarieties of English spoken in the country. The subvarieties differ depending on which region they are spoken in and what local language they are code-mixed with. From a methodological perspective, it is not possible to consider all the subvarieties of Indian English. The dissertation works with

English-language online texts of newspapers, blog entries, and survey responses produced by speakers of Indian English. As such, it considers Indian English in a general sense as a variety of the English language spoken in India or by people with an Indian cultural background.

4.5.2 American English

The dissertation examines the understanding of SHAME in American culture through American English linguistic expressions. In Kachru's (1985, 2005a) approach, American English is inner-circle English. American English began to emerge as the first settlers got in contact with the native Indian population in the 1600s. Kövecses (2000b) lists the following general properties of contemporary American English: economical, regular, straightforward, democratic, tolerant, informal, prudish, inflated, inventive, imaginative, and success and action-oriented (pp. 13-15). These are not simply properties of the language, but also "cultural features that manifest themselves in language" (Kövecses, 2000b, p. 15). In other words, the characterization of American English is the characterization of the speakers of American English coming from an American cultural background. Several of these features match the discussion about characteristics of the American sociocultural context in Section 4.4.2.

Similarly to Indian English, *American English* is an umbrella term for several varieties of American English spoken in the United States. Kövecses (2000b) distinguishes between regional dialects (e.g., the Northern, the Coastal South, the Midland and the Western dialects), social dialects (e.g., standard and nonstandard varieties) and ethnic dialects (e.g., Black English Vernacular or Hispanic American English). From a methodological perspective, it is not possible to take into account all the varieties of American English. The dissertation works with the English-language online texts of newspapers and blog entries produced by speakers of American English living in the United States. As such, it considers American English in a general sense, as a variety of the English language spoken in the United States or by people with an American cultural background.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Chapter 5 discusses cognitive linguistic methodology in general, and the methodology applied in the dissertation in particular. It clarifies the notions of salience, elaboration, productivity and frequency that are used in the analysis of the metaphorical and the metonymical understanding of shame. The sections of this chapter further explain how the causes and the related concepts of shame are identified in the study.

5.1 Methodology in Cognitive Linguistics

Methodology in Cognitive Linguistics is a debated topic. Criticism first of all concerns methods of introspection, which were applied in some of the studies conducted in the boom of the discipline. The essence of introspection is that the researcher draws conclusions about metaphorical and metonymical conceptualizations by examining a small number of linguistic expressions that are collected from a variety of resources. Potential resources include dictionaries and sections of discourse borrowed from newspapers. Introspection is a form of intuition-based analysis.

Introspection-based studies follow a top-down approach, in which researchers examine a small amount of data and "suggest global cognitive structures (such as conceptual metaphors) that 'underlie' and explain the data" (Kövecses, 2011, p. 28). These studies are concerned with cognition at the supra-individual level, which is "the level of de-contextualized metaphorical expressions and the assumed metaphorical structures based on them" (Kövecses, 2011, p. 25). The emphasis is on "metaphorical structure in thought" (Kövecses, 2011, p. 28) and not on individual metaphor use. This is the level at which the Great Chain of Being and the Event Structure metaphor systems[10] are identified (Kövecses, 2011, p. 25).

In relation to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), Kövecses (2011) lists three main reasons why criticisms of the introspection method are valid. Introspection is not "scientifically reliable" as (1) conceptual metaphor analysis is entirely subjective, (2) the "*irregular* character of linguistic metaphors" is not paid attention to, and (3) "*impoverished* collections of metaphors" are used, and, as such, the analysis is unsystematic, random and not retrievable (p. 23). At the same time, it is argued that introspection- and intuition-based studies are necessary. Had researchers used a "'rigorous,' 'objective,' and 'scientific' methodology'" in the first cognitive linguistic studies, "the idea of conceptual metaphor in its entire complexity, pervasiveness, and social-cognitive power" would possibly not have been discovered (Kövecses, 2011, p. 25).

[10] Conceptual metaphors comprise two main systems. It is the Event Structure metaphor (Lakoff, 1990) that covers the metaphorical conceptualization of events. It is the Great Chain of Being metaphor that covers the metaphorical conceptualization of objects and things (Kövecses, 2006, p. 151).

The dissertation emphasizes that intuition-based analysis is inevitable in research. In line with Deignan (2005) and Oster (2010), subjectivity is inherent in categorizing metonymical and metaphorical linguistic expressions into conceptual metonymies and conceptual metaphors. Janda (2013) similarly argues for the necessity of intuition, claiming that "judgment experiments involving the systematic study of the intuitions of naive information under experimental conditions [are considered] a legitimate scientific method that normally involves quantitative analysis" (p. 3).

Studies of the bottom-up approach work with large amounts of data and not with a selective set only. They are "primarily concerned with the systematic study of metaphorical expressions in real discourse" (Kövecses, 2011, p. 28). The emphasis here is on metaphor in natural discourse, as well as on how metaphorical linguistic expressions appear in particular contexts (Kövecses, 2011, p. 28). For this reason, this type of research is concerned with conceptualization at the level of the individual. This type of research is a good start to study conceptualization at the level of the collective.

Corpus-based analyses follow a bottom-up approach (Deignan, 2005, p. 153). Various types of corpus linguistic studies are available, including the metaphorical pattern analysis (e.g., Stefanowitsch, 2007), the metaphorical profile analysis (e.g., Ogarkova and Soriano, 2014), the cluster and correspondence analysis (e.g., Szelid and Geeraerts, 2008) and the quantitative concordance analysis (e.g., Charteris-Black, 2003). As Zhang (2016) summarizes, "corpus methods have been proposed as a reliable way to investigate both conceptual and linguistic metaphors" as they offer "real data of natural language from a wide variety of language users" (p. 44). Corpus-based studies provide enough data to examine the frequency and salience of particular ways of understanding. In terms of salience, it is possible to see which metonymical and metaphorical conceptualizations of a particular concept are more central in a given context.

Cognitive linguistic studies, besides which direction they take (top-down or bottom-up) and which level of conceptualization they study (supra-individual or individual), can further be distinguished depending on whether they make a quantitative or qualitative analysis. The various types of corpus linguistic analyses listed before are typically used in quantitative studies. Kövecses's (1986, 1990, 1999, 2000) lexical approach is an example of the qualitative analysis. In this approach, the researcher aims to collect information on a target concept with the help of monolingual dictionaries or thesauri that are "preferably based on large corpora" (Kövecses et al., 2015). "These include synonyms, antonyms, related words, various idioms and phrases, collocations, and, importantly, the definitions of the lexemes" (Kövecses et al., 2015). Another example of the qualitative analysis is survey-based studies. "In a sense, filling out a questionnaire can be thought of as a form of conversation, albeit a

conversation in which only the researcher is asking questions and only the respondent is replying" (Uskul et al., 2010, p. 197).

The different cognitive linguistic methodologies often compete with one another. The dissertation argues that none of the applied methods are superior or inferior to the others. On the contrary, they are meant to complement one another. With this in mind, the methodology used is a combination of corpus linguistic and survey-based methods, and it includes qualitative and quantitative analyses. Because of the applied methodology, the dissertation follows a bottom-up approach as, instead of taking a few linguistic expressions as a basis, it examines a relatively large number of figurative linguistic expressions of *shame* in Indian English and American English. The dissertation examines real data of natural language. The objective is to draw conclusions about the understanding of SHAME in the two sociocultural contexts by studying linguistic expressions from a wide variety of users. With regards to the level of conceptualization, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, the dissertation is concerned with the level of understanding that the cultural linguistic concept *cultural cognition* denotes (Sharifian, 2017).

5.2 The methodology applied in the dissertation

This section discusses the methodology used in the dissertation. First, the details of the corpus-based study are introduced. Second, justification is given as to why the corpus-based study is complemented with a survey-based research and information on the survey-based study is provided. Third, the process of identifying the metaphorical and metonymical linguistic expressions in the Indian English and American English databases is described. Finally, the process of identifying the related concepts, the causes, and the cognitive-cultural models of shame is addressed.

5.2.1 The corpus-based study

A corpus-based approach appears to be the best choice in the language-based study of the understanding of shame for three reasons: (1) the corpora are available online and, therefore, they are easy to access; (2) they make a large amount of linguistic data available; and (3) they make it possible for the researcher to find data that are comparable.

In corpus-based studies, the concepts of comparability and representativeness are essential. Representativeness is defined in various ways in the literature. According to Leech (1991), "a corpus is thought to be representative of the language variety it is supposed to represent if the findings based on its contents can be generalized to the said language variety" (p. 27). In McEnery et al.'s (2006) approach, "the representativeness of most corpora is to a great extent determined by two factors: the range of genres included in a corpus (i.e., *balance*)

and how the text chunks for each genre are selected (*sampling*)" (McEnery et al., 2006, p. 13). The dissertation shares the view of Köhler (2013), namely that "no corpus can be representative in a scientifically meaningful sense, in particular not with respect to statistical methods" (p. 81). Köhler (2013, p. 81) lists a number of reasons for his claim, including the following three main points as quoted below:

(1) It is not possible to assess representativeness of a corpus because we lack the theoretical previous knowledge about the hypothetical population that would be needed; (…)
(2) a corpus cannot be large enough to represent the infinite variety of linguistic behavior even if the scope of the corpus is limited; (…)
(3) we do not only lack the empirical knowledge of the 'correct balance' between corpus elements with given parameters – it is even impossible to acquire such knowledge since the number of potentially relevant parameters is infinite.

Because the representativeness of a corpus cannot be established, the dissertation places emphasis on comparability. In a corpus linguistic approach two databases are comparable[11] if they meet the following criteria: (1) They include linguistic expressions from similar topics, sources and time periods, and (2) they are similar in size. With the two criteria in mind, the corpus-based data set of the dissertation is compiled with the method described below.

The main source of linguistic expressions in American English is the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davis, 2008). This is the largest database available online for the study of contemporary American English since 2008. The corpus in its current format includes entries between 1990 and 2015. It lists over 520 million words (20 million words for each year) from different genres: from fiction, magazines, newspapers and academics. It also includes transcripts of spoken texts. The COCA is a monitor corpus, that is, it expands continually to contain more data and a variety of materials (Sinclair, 1991, pp. 24-26). The COCA serves as the reference corpus in the dissertation.

The sources of the Indian English linguistic expressions are the Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE) (Davis, 2013a) and the NOW corpus (Davis, 2013b). The GloWbE has been available online for research purposes since 2013. The corpus consists of subcorpora of several varieties of the English language and, therefore, it allows researchers to do comparative studies. It includes subcorpora for the inner, the outer and the expanding circles of English (Kachru, 1985), that is, among others, for British English, Indian English, Malaysian English, Singaporean English and Hong Kong English. The corpus is a collection of texts collected from web pages in 2012 and 2013. Some 60% of the words in

[11] On comparability, see, for example, Preiss (2012) or Harris (1954).

each subcorpora come from informal blogs, whereas the other 40% come from formal genres[12]. The total size of the GloWbE is 1.9 billion words. The Indian English subcorpus contains 96,430,888 words[13].

Besides the GloWbE, the News on the Web (NOW) corpus was further used as a source of linguistic expressions in Indian English. The NOW corpus is a relatively new corpus available since May 2016. It contains the same subcorpora as the GloWbE does. The NOW corpus currently lists a total of 3.7 billion words[14]. The texts in it are collected from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2010 to the present time. The NOW corpus is special in the sense that it expands on a daily basis. The software that collects the data in the corpus is designed so that it automatically adds about four million words to the corpus every night (from about 10,000 new articles). The Indian English component of the NOW corpus currently lists 240,804,113 words[15]. The COCA, the GloWbe and the NOW corpora have been developed by Mark Davies at Brigham Young University.

In order to have a comparable set of data, the following steps were taken. As the GloWbE and the NOW corpora contain texts mostly from the genres of newspapers, magazines and informal blog entries, search in the COCA corpus was narrowed down to texts coming from newspapers, magazines and the transcriptions of spoken texts. Texts from the genres of fiction and academic studies were excluded. Although the three corpora do not cover the same periods of time, they are all considered databases for contemporary understanding. For this reason, no restrictions were made in the search for linguistic expressions in terms of periods.

The search term in the COCA corpus was *shame*. The search terms in the Indian English component of the GloWbE and NOW corpora were *shame*, *sharam* and *laj*/*lay*/*laaj*[16]. Wild cards were used in order not to exclude linguistic expressions in which different forms of *shame*, *sharam* and *lajja* occur. This way, examples containing words such as, for instance, shame*ful*, shame*d*, *be*sharam (“one without shame”)[17] or *lok*laaj (“without shame”/”public shame”)[18] were not excluded. The search in the COCA and the GloWbE corpora was conducted between January and May 2016. The search for linguistic expressions in the NOW corpus was run between June and November 2016. The total number of linguistic expressions collected for the search words in the three corpora with this methodology is given in *Table 2*. Duplicates in the database were removed manually.

[12] Source: http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe/.
[13] Source: http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe_corpus.asp. Data as of January 14, 2017.
[14] Source: http://corpus.byu.edu/now/. Data as of January 14, 2017.
[15] Source: http://corpus.byu.edu/now/. Data as of January 14, 2017.
[16] The search terms *laj*,*lay* and *laaj* are used because *lajja* has different forms of spelling (*lajja*/*layja*/*laaj*).
[17] Source: http://dict.hinkhoj.com/besharm-meaning-in-english.words
[18] Source: http://www.manushi.in/articles.php?articleId=1707&ptype=&pgno=3#.WN_BYno09U0

The last row of the table shows the total number of linguistic expressions analyzed in the two language varieties.

Table 2: The database

	COCA	GloWbE	**NOW**
shame	10201	4853	6985
sharam	-	60	330
laj/*lay*/*laaj*	-	13	178
Total (GloWbe+NOW)		4926	7493
Total (COCA&GloWbe+NOW)	10201	12419	
Total (without duplicates) (COCA&GloWbe+NOW)	**8976**	**8683**	

The numbers in *Table 2* indicate why Indian English expressions were collected from two corpora. The size of the American English data gathered from the COCA corpus is significantly bigger than the size of the Indian English data collected from the Indian English subcorpus of GloWbe alone. This is why additional examples were needed from the Indian English component of the NOW corpus. This is how the American English and Indian English data sets could be made similar in size.

Besides the NOW corpus, other corpora of Indian English, the Kolhapur Corpus of Indian English (KCIE) and the Indian English component of the International Corpus of English (ICE), are available online. These could not be used for the following reasons, however. The Kolhapur Corpus, compiled by Professor S. V. Shastri and his colleagues at Shivaji University, Kolhapur, India, is drawn from texts published in 1978 (Shastri et al., 1986). As such, it does not represent contemporary language use and understanding. ICE India, a one million word corpus designed as part of the ICE project, does represent contemporary understanding but it does not contain any lexical entry for *shame*, *sharam* or *lajja*.

5.2.2 The survey-based study

A survey-based study was conducted with Indian participants. The survey-based study was necessary for the following reason. *Table 2* shows that the number of linguistic expressions in the GloWbe and the NOW corpus for *lajja* and *sharam* is small. The linguistic examples identified in the corpora are all illustrations of the phenomenon of code-mixing, which is a characteristic of Indian English. That is, either *sharam* or *lajja* are used in the Indian English linguistic expressions instead of *shame* in order to express the intended meaning. The literature (e.g., Sinha and Chauhan, 2013, Stodulka, 2009, Tarlo, 1996, Menon and Shweder, 2010) indicates that the concept of *lajja* is central in Indian culture and that it is semantically related to the concept of shame. In order to collect information about the concept, a survey among Indian participants seemed to be the best methodology to apply.

The surveys were collected with the help of the SmartSurvey[19] online software in November 2016. The tool makes it possible that researchers buy survey responses in a variety of topics, including academic inquiries. Registered users have the option to prepare and design their own surveys. Several question types (e.g., dichotomous, multiple choice, ranking and rating questions) can be included. The option to narrow the target audience on the basis of parameters, such as, for instance, geographical region, age, gender or level of education, is available.

A total of 100 participants were requested to complete the survey on the concept of *lajja* in India. The survey with hundred participants is not considered representative. The data elicited by the survey provide valuable insight into the concept of *lajja*, however. All surveys were anonymous. Because the surveys were meant to complement the data from the corpus-based study, the target audience was not narrowed. The data in the corpora were not filtered on the basis of geographical regions, gender, age, religious background or other parameters either.

In order to be able to compare the Indian concept of shame and the Indian concept of *lajja*, the concepts are analyzed with the same methodology. With the examination of the Indian English linguistic expressions collected from the Indian English corpora and the survey with the Indian participants, the objective is to identify the following: the potential causes of *lajja*, the conceptual metaphors and metonymies of *lajja*, the concepts related to *lajja*, as well as the cognitive-cultural model(s) of the concept. The detailed analysis of *lajja* is introduced in Chapter 7.

5.2.3 The identification of metaphorical and metonymical linguistic expressions

Currently, there are three metaphor identification processes used in cognitive linguistic studies of metaphor. The first is the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) as developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The main idea of this approach is that all lexical units in a text should be examined in order to see whether the meaning they carry in the text contrasts with their basic meaning (as given in reliable dictionary or thesaurus sources). If the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning of the lexical unit, it is a potential candidate for metaphorical use. The second procedure is the modified version of the MIP, the MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010), which is capable of identifying different forms of metaphors (i.e., direct metaphor or implicit metaphor). The third procedure, the Metaphor Identification process through the Vehicle (MIV), is developed by Cameron (2003). The basic difference between the MIP/MIPVU and the MIV is that the former analyze words in the discourse, while the MIV is not restricted to words. The MIP and MIPVU "involve

[19] The tool is available at https://www.smartsurvey.co.uk/.

identifying as metaphor any lexical unit that has the potential to be processed metaphorically" (Littlemore, 2015, p. 124). In terms of the MIV, the researcher needs to identify focus terms (vehicle terms) in the discourse, which are words or phrases that "somehow contrast with (are incongruous or anomalous with) the topic of the on-going text" (Chapetón, 2010). The vehicle terms have the potential for incongruity. "The incongruity can be resolved by some 'transfer of meaning' from the Vehicle (the metaphorical focus) to the Topic (the content of the on-going discourse) where 'transfer' is used in a loose sense that may be described theoretically as comparison, interaction or conceptual mapping" (Chapetón, 2010). As such, the vehicle terms are potential candidates for metaphorical use. In the dissertation, the MIP process is used.

For the systematic identification of metonymical linguistic expressions, it appears that no unified procedure is yet available. When looking for corpus-based studies that apply a systematic process to detect metonymical linguistic expressions, the works of Biernacka (2013) and Zhang (2016) are found as examples. They both use an adapted version of the MIP in order to find metonymical linguistic expressions in their data sets. As there is no other unified procedure, an adapted version of the MIP is used in the dissertation as well. An introduction to MIP is provided in the Appendix, as well as an illustration of how the procedure is used to detect metaphorical and metonymical language use in the compiled Indian English and American English databases. *Table 3* below gives the number of metaphorical and metonymical linguistic expressions identified in the databases:

Table 3: The figurative language data

	Indian English database	**American English database**
Metaphorical linguistic expressions	3692	3643
Metonymical linguistic expressions	301	504
Total (figurative linguistic expressions)	**3993**	**4147**

The Indian English database is supplemented with a total of 144 figurative linguistic expressions identified in the linguistic data collected with the help of the survey-based study on the concept of *lajja*.

5.2.4 The analysis of the conceptual metaphors and the conceptual metonymies

After the metaphorical and metonymical linguistic expressions are found, the aim is to identify the metaphorical source domains and the metonymical vehicle entities that underlie the meaning of the figurative linguistic expressions. This is the step in which "a certain level of subjectivity (…) is inevitable" (Oster, 2010, p. 739). In the analysis, the focus is on

the elaboration, the productivity, the frequency and the salience of the conceptual metaphors and the conceptual metonymies in the two databases.

With the identification of metaphorical source domains, it is possible to see which systematic correspondences build up the conceptual metaphors. The mappings help draw conclusions on the conceptual elaboration of metaphors (Soriano, 2003, p. 109). The more mappings of a conceptual metaphor take part in meaning-making and the more are manifested in language, the more elaborated that conceptual metaphor is. Once the mappings are identified, it is possible to calculate the mapping type frequency of each conceptual metaphor. "The percentage of mapping types is calculated from the total number of metaphorical mapping types" (Kövecses et al., 2015b, p. 345). As there is no set of correspondences between elements of the vehicle and target entities of conceptual metonymies, a similar methodology cannot be applied to see the elaboration of metonymies. According to Zhang's (2016) definition of conceptual metonymies, there is one correspondence between the vehicle entity and the target entity (the former stands for the latter) (p. 11).

The type and token frequencies of conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies are examined with the help of the identified metaphorical and metonymical linguistic expressions. Types are lexical units, while tokens are the possible forms of one lexical unit. Tokens are real instantiations of types (Kövecses et al., 2015b). For instance, the *X is filled with shame* linguistic expression appears 57 times in the Indian English database. Therefore, the token of the linguistic expression is 57 and the type of the linguistic expression is 1. The token frequency of a conceptual metaphor is "the percentage of the number of tokens belonging to a metaphor calculated from the total number of metaphorical tokens" (Kövecses et al., 2015b, p. 345). The type frequency of a conceptual metaphor is "the percentage of the number of types belonging to a metaphor calculated from the total number of metaphorical types" (Kövecses et al., 2015b, p. 345). It is suggested that the type frequency tells us about the productivity of the conceptual metaphor. The higher the number of types of metaphorical linguistic expressions motivated by a conceptual metaphor, the more productive that metaphor appears to be. The token (the actual number) of metaphorical linguistic expressions tells us about the frequency of a conceptual metaphor in language.

A similar analysis can be done with conceptual metonymies. That is, for instance, the *hang head in shame* linguistic expression appears 7 times in the Indian English database. The token of the linguistic expression is therefore 7 and the type of the linguistic expression is 1. The percentage of a token against the total number of tokens gives the token frequency. The percentage of a type against the total number of types gives the type frequency. With regard to mappings, Zhang's (2016) definition of conceptual metonymy is taken as a basis. Zhang

(2016) argues that it is justifiable to talk about mappings in the case of conceptual metonymies as well, not just in the case of conceptual metaphors. In the case of conceptual metaphor there is a set of systematic correspondence between the elements of the source domain and the elements of the target domain. In the case of conceptual metonymy, the "stand for" relationship between the vehicle and the target entity is a single systematic correspondence (Zhang, 2016, p. 11). Because the number of mappings is 1 for each conceptual metonymy, it is not possible to draw conclusions regarding elaboration. The percentage of a mapping type against the total number of mapping types gives the mapping type frequency.

The identification of types, tokens and mappings makes it possible to examine the salience of conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies. In regard to salience, a study of the corresponding literature shows that there are different types of salience (Glynn, 2010, p. 14), and as such, there is no clear consensus on the concept or on the formula to calculate salience. The dissertation applies the method of Kövecses et al. (2015b) in examining metaphorical salience, according to which the aggregate value of the mapping type frequency, the type frequency and the token frequency of a conceptual metaphor is indicative of the salience of the conceptual metaphor. The same formula is used in order to establish the salience of conceptual metonymies. The only difference in calculating metonymical salience is that the number of mappings, by default, is one and, therefore, the mapping type frequency is the same for each conceptual metonymy.

The conceptual metaphors of shame as identified in the Indian English and American English corpora are discussed in Section 6.1. The conceptual metonymies of shame as identified in the Indian English and American English corpora are discussed in Section 6.2. The conceptual metaphors of *lajja* as identified in the Indian English corpora and surveys are discussed in Section 7.1. The conceptual metaphors of *lajja* as identified in the Indian English corpora and surveys are discussed in Section 7.2.

5.2.5 The identification of the causes of shame

The causes of shame are identified so that the broader texts around the keywords *shame*, *lajja* and *sharam* are manually examined. The identification of potential causes is difficult, because it is not possible to identify as express types of causes as in the case of particular basic emotions (e.g., threat as a general cause of fear). Furthermore, as Lewis (2008) argues, shame is not triggered by particular events or traits but by "people's evaluation" of these (p. 743). The evaluation of a particular event or trait is entirely dependent on the context. The aim is to find "main themes" that appear outstanding in the Indian and American contexts as potential causes of shame. The causes of shame identified in the Indian English and the American English corpora are discussed in Section 6.3. The potential

causes of *lajja* as identified in the Indian English corpora and the surveys are addressed in Section 7.3.

5.2.6 The identification of related concepts

In the identification of related concepts of SHAME both emotion concepts and nonemotion concepts related to shame are considered. In order to detect these in the databases, the AntConc[20] word analysis software is used. The AntConc software is an online, freely available concordance program, which, among others, makes it possible that the collocation strength between words is calculated. Collocation, or more generally co-occurrence, "refers to the syntagmatic attraction between two (or more) lexical items: morphemes, words, phrases or utterances" (Lehecka, 2015, p. 2). "The concept of collocation is based on the notion that each word in a language prefers certain lexical contexts over others, i.e., that any given word tends to co-occur with certain words more often than it does with others" (Lehecka, 2015, p. 2). It is expected that a collocation analysis will demonstrate which concepts are the most related to or evoked by shame in the two contexts. The findings of the analysis are discussed in Sections 6.4 (concepts related to the Indian and the American concepts of SHAME) and 7.4 (the related concepts of the Indian concept of *lajja*).

5.2.7 The identification of the cultural models

The intuition-based identification of cultural models (as "packages" of meaning comprised of conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, related concepts and a basic model structure) is subject to criticism. Criticism is largely formulated in fields of linguistics that work with quantitative methodology (e.g., Stefanowitsch, 2007). The basic argument of this criticism is that corpus-based approach allows the researcher to quantify the results and, hence, objectively see which forms of conceptualization are central and which are peripheral. Considering this criticism, in line with Kövecses (2014a), the dissertation uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies in identifying the Indian and American cultural models of SHAME, and in establishing the salience of the identified models. The argument of the dissertation is that the salience of particular conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies, and the strength of relatedness of concepts linked to SHAME are indicative of the prototipicality of the cultural models they constitute. The cultural models of SHAME identified in the dissertation are discussed in Chapter 8.

[20] The software has been developed by Professor Laurence Anthony, Director of the Center for English Language Education, Waseda University, Japan.

Chapter 6: The Indian and the American concept of shame

This section discusses the metaphorical and the metonymical conceptualization of SHAME. It is divided into two parts. In the first part, an analysis of the conceptual metaphors identified in the Indian English and the American English databases is provided. This part discusses the metaphorical linguistic expressions of *shame* collected from the Indian English and the American English corpora. The identified conceptual metaphors are introduced with a focus on their "meaning focus" ("main theme"), elaboration, productivity, frequency and salience (Kövecses, 2010). After the analysis of the identified conceptual metaphors, a comparison of the Indian and the American metaphorical understandings is provided. The second part is dedicated to the metonymical conceptualization of the concept. In the second part, the metonymical linguistic expressions of *shame* from the Indian English and the American English corpora are analyzed. In the discussion of the identified conceptual metonymies, the focus is on productivity, frequency and salience. The part ends with the comparison of the identified Indian and the American metonymical understandings of SHAME.

6.1 Conceptual metaphors of SHAME

Twenty-nine conceptual metaphors of SHAME are detected in the Indian English database and 32 in the American English database. In order to provide a transparent analysis, the conceptual metaphors are categorized according to what "meaning foci" ("main themes") they intend to express (Kövecses, 2010). The main themes of the conceptual metaphors are linked to the aspects of understanding the metaphorical source domains profile. Six aspects are identified in the metaphorical understanding of SHAME: existence, control, evaluation, visibility, intensity and duration. The analysis reveals that each source domain picks a central aspect, which defines the main theme of the conceptual metaphor. The following five aspects are identified as central in the metaphorical understanding of shame: existence, control, evaluation, visibility, and intensity. These five aspects indicate five meaning focus types according to which the identified conceptual metaphors of SHAME can be grouped:

1. Conceptual metaphors that highlight the existence of the emotion (the existence aspect);
2. Conceptual metaphors that describe scenarios where the emotion and the person affected by the emotion aim to gain control over the other (the control aspect);
3. Conceptual metaphors that highlight the evaluation of the emotion (the evaluation aspect);
4. Conceptual metaphors that highlight the visibility or the invisibility of the emotion (the visibility aspect);
5. Conceptual metaphors that highlight the intensity of the emotion (the intensity aspect).

Although duration is an important aspect in the metaphorical understanding of SHAME, it does not seem to be the most central in the meaning foci of any of the source domains identified in the corpora. Therefore, no particular meaning focus type that centers around the duration aspect can be distinguished.

It needs to be emphasized that one metaphorical source domain is capable of expressing multiple aspects of understanding (Kövecses, 2010). The decision on which aspect is considered the most central is certainly a matter of subjective evaluation. In order to illustrate how a central aspect of the metaphorical understanding of SHAME is identified and how a meaning foci type is named in the analysis, let us consider the metaphorical linguistic expression borrowed from the Indian English database, *X is burdened by the lingering shame*. This expression is motivated by the SHAME IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor. In this example, the BURDEN source domain highlights three aspects in the understanding of the emotion: control, duration, and evaluation. Shame appears as a heavy object, which forces the person down as it exerts control over the person. This is the control aspect. The adjective *lingering* refers to the duration of the emotional experience. This is the duration aspect. The evaluation aspect is highlighted by the word *burden* as it has a negative connotation. The three aspects jointly give the main theme of the BURDEN source domain, namely that shame is a negative emotion that deprives the person from normal functioning as it weighs down the person for a particular amount of time. It is argued, however, that because the nature and the length of control the emotion exerts on the person points to an overall negative experience, it is the evaluation aspect (and not the control or the duration aspects) that is the most central in this metaphorical understanding. The SHAME IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor seems to have a meaning focus that is centered around the evaluation aspect. As such, in the analysis, it is discussed as part of the third metaphor group (conceptual metaphors that highlight the evaluation of the emotion (the evaluation aspect)).

In the analysis of each identified conceptual metaphor, the following are included:

(1) The systematic correspondences between the elements of the target domain SHAME and the source domain are listed. The mappings are identified with the help of the metaphorical linguistic expression types detected in the corpora. Each identified metaphorical linguistic expression type is illustrated with one sample metaphorical linguistic expression (that is, token). As an illustration, let us consider the SHAME IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor. In the Indian English database, 4 systematic correspondences are identified for this metaphor. Each systematic correspondence is indicated by a particular number of metaphorical linguistic expression types. One of the 4 mappings, *the body recovering from the disease → the person relieved from the emotion*, is referred to by two metaphorical linguistic expression types (*heal shame* and *recover from shame*). One sample metaphorical linguistic expression (one token) for each of the two types is given in the analysis. In the discussion of

some conceptual metaphors, more tokens of the same type need to be provided in order to illustrate, for instance, differences in the Indian and the American examples. Sample metaphorical linguistic expressions are quoted from the corpora without correcting typos or errors in grammar.

(2) On the basis of the number of identified mappings, the metaphorical linguistic expression types and the tokens, conclusions are drawn about the elaboration, the productivity, the frequency, and the salience of the conceptual metaphors. In the discussion of these, reference is made to two tables in the Appendix (Table 16 and Table 17), which provide an overview of the mapping type frequencies, the linguistic expression type and token frequencies and the salience of the conceptual metaphors identified in the Indian English and the American English corpora.

(3) The motivation of the particular metaphorical understanding is discussed. Differences detected between the Indian English and the American English data are addressed.

6.1.1 Conceptual metaphors that highlight the existence of the emotion

Eight of the conceptual metaphors identified in the corpora express the existence of the emotion from various perspectives. The SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT conceptual metaphor presents shame as an object people (or other entities, e.g., countries or events) possess. The SHAME IS A LIVING ORGANISM conceptual metaphor makes the emotion personified. The BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE conceptual metaphor depicts the state of shame as a state of being in a kind of a container. The SHAME IS A LIQUID, the SHAME IS A GAS and the SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE conceptual metaphors describe shame as a substance of different types. The SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor describes the emotion with a focus on its location: it is a substance on a particular surface. The SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER describes the existence of the emotion highlighting who or what is responsible for the presence of the emotion (who or what brings shame) and who is made to feel the emotion (onto whom is shame brought). A common characteristic of the source domains that highlight the existence of shame is that they are not specific to shame. These conceptual metaphors underlie the understanding of emotion (and nonemotion) concepts in general.

SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT

The POSSESSED OBJECT is a general source domain in the metaphorical understanding of emotions (Kövecses, 1990). In terms of the SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT conceptual metaphor, people *keep* shame (Indian English and American English), they *lose* shame (Indian English and American English), they *live with* shame (Indian English and American

English) and they *share* shame (Indian English). The following systematic correspondences are identified in the two databases. The mappings are illustrated with corresponding linguistic expressions.

The object → the emotion
The person/the entity (e.g., Indians, generation) possessing the object → the person possessing shame

Indian English

- But the moment the government gives the priority, and have the support of the political system, including opposition parties, on an agreed platform, because the *shame of Indians* dying without medical care, Indian children being more underweight and undernourished than any other country, is a shame, not only of the ruling party but every one of the opposition parties.
- As I see her and hear her, she reminds me of that type of a Hindu wife whose status is the status of her husband and whoso position is the position of her husband too. Indeed, in her husband's glory lies her glory; in her husband's shame lies *her shame*.
- And when she simply stopped showing up at office, he and his Human Resources head Aruna Chaddha confronted her mother with ugly aspersions regarding her sexual behaviour — hoping the fear of public exposure and her *parents' shame* would force her back into his arms.

American English

- This is *Bush's shame*. His own pilots condemn the war.
- Continuing *shame of* Guantánamo Bay, protesters in orange jumpsuits rally outside the White House to demand the closure of the US prison.
- Nobody wants to be reminded constantly of their humiliation, *of their shame*, of their terrible actions in the past.
- To *our generation's shame*, hundreds of thousands of those young people are working for free for companies that could afford to hire them. And when college graduates can't find jobs, young people will stop going to college.

The loss of the possessed object → the loss of shame

Indian English

- Shivajinagara is peppered with family sentiment, college romance and some "action" utterly *devoid of shame* and related feelings -- cruelty relished to the hilt.

American English

- I *lost my shame*, and when I thought my son needed something, I got up on my hind legs.

The length of possessing the object → the length of possessing the emotion

Indian English

- Add to *India's lasting shame*, neither the Prime Minister nor the Indian Army was even aware that the' war' had ended until they read about it in the newspapers -- despite the Indian Embassy informed two days earlier.
- Rajiv Gandhi himself would, to *his eternal shame*, justify the violence later as the inevitable upheaval when a giant tree falls.

American English

- Do you *live with shame* or guilt, hiding who you are and what is really going on in your life?

The systematic correspondence below is identified in the Indian English database only:

Sharing the object → sharing the emotion

Indian English

- Both countries *share the shame* of not enough toilets: 53% of Indians and 21% of Pakistanis have no access to a toilet. You've probably seen the dramatic numbers showing that South Asians have more mobile phones than bathrooms.

Six systematic correspondences are identified in the Indian English database and 5 mappings in the American English database. This indicates that the metaphor is slightly more elaborate in the Indian context. The mapping type frequency in the Indian English database is 5.3%. The mapping type frequency in the American English database is 5%. Six linguistic expression types are found in the Indian English database and 5 in the American English database. This indicates that the POSSESSED OBJECT conceptual metaphor is slightly more productive in the Indian context. A similar number of linguistic expression tokens are found in the two databases: 530 in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 14.35%) and 583 in the American English database (the token frequency is 16%). Overall, the understanding of SHAME in terms of the POSSESSED OBJECT conceptual metaphor appears to be more salient in the Indian context. The salience of the metaphor in the Indian English database is 23.26%, while the salience in the American English database is 21.64%. This conceptual metaphor is among the top three in salience in both databases.

SHAME IS A LIVING ORGANISM

Shame in terms of the LIVING ORGANISM source domain becomes personified. "Personifications can be characterized by means of two conceptual metaphors: EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and THINGS ARE PEOPLE, (…) both are generic-level metaphors with a huge number of specific-level instances" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 129). The SHAME IS A LIVING ORGANISM conceptual metaphor motivates linguistic expressions such as shame is *borne*, shame *awaits*, shame *returns* (American English) or shame *lies*, shame *visits*, and shame *comes* (Indian English).

The below systematic correspondences are identified in the databases:

The living organism → the emotion
The actions of the living organism → what the emotion does

These are illustrated by the following linguistic expressions:

Indian English

- She berates the men for their complicity and their refusal to defend her; instead of the *shame visited on* women who have been sexually assaulted, she expresses a fierce, searing anger.
- *Shame comes* in all forms. It can look like a girl in Nepal having to exist in a separate space from the rest of her family while she is on her period, or it can look like a middle school girl in New York City not feeling empowered enough to ask for a pad while at school.
- Shattering these lies is a start to dismantling any society that asks almost zero accountability from its perpetrators and *lays* all blame and *shame* at the door of the one who has been violated. Let's begin there. Let's begin to tell the truth. Let's hear our children when they say they have been touched inappropriately - not silence them for fear of stigmas and societal shame.

American English

- If you put shame in a Petri dish, it needs three things to *grow* exponentially: secrecy, silence and judgment. If you put the same amount of shame in a Petri dish with the same amount of empathy and douse it with empathy, it can't *survive*.
- Instead of standing on the courthouse stairs, surrounded by supporters united in a vow to fight impunity and the *shame borne* by victims here, he was hustled off behind drawn curtains.
- But the *shame went* with Flora, and *stayed* with her a long time.
- The sickness, sorrow and *shame it breeds*; farmers breaking their backs to provide food for our tables.

- The threat lurks in the air young boys breathe and old men remember. The *shame lies* elsewhere.
- *Shame says* you came from nothing, you're nobody, they'll find you out for what you and your mother have done. Fear says what's the use of bothering, drink as much as you can, dull the pain.
- These emotions of fear and *shame* and guilt are *cultivated* by the government.
- Another reason why *shame stays* in the shadows is that we simply don't talk about it.
- The feeling of *shame returned* and he thought of Hannah, lonely and broken, but then he thought of their marriage, in the same exact state.
- *Shame tells* bigger *lies* you would believe.

The below mappings are further identified in the Indian English database:

The characteristics of the living organism → the characteristics of the emotion

Indian English

- People will tell of your *undying shame*, and for a man of honor shame is worse than death.

The LIVING ORGANISM source domain does not provide specific information about shame. The number of systematic correspondences in the Indian English database is 4 (the mapping type frequency is 2.4%). The number of systematic correspondences in the American English database is 2 (the mapping type frequency is 1.53%). Ten linguistic expressions types are identified in the American English database (the type frequency is 3.69%). In contrast to this, only 4 linguistic expressions types are identified in the Indian English database (the type frequency is 2.4%). Interestingly, the number of linguistic expression tokens is higher in the Indian English database (32 metaphorical linguistic expressions/ the token frequency is 0.87%). In the American English database, only 19 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified (the token frequency is 0.52%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of this conceptual metaphor appears to be peripheral in both contexts. The salience of the metaphor is 5.92% in the Indian English database. The salience of the metaphor is 5.74% in the American English database.

BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE

The BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE conceptual metaphor is related to two sub-metaphors of the Event Structure metaphor: STATES ARE LOCATIONS and CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS. The expression *be in shame* (Indian English) illustrates the STATES ARE LOCATIONS sub-metaphor, while the expression *fall in shame* (American English) illustrates

the CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS sub-metaphor. These metaphorical understandings are not unique to SHAME as they apply to other concepts as well (Kövecses, 2000, p. 36). The systematic mappings identified in both databases are the following:

Being in a bounded space → being in shame

Indian English

- Look at China's growth. These politicians are going to *leave* us *in shame* in front of the whole world. Unless and until the punishment for the corrupted politicians is intensified, the hope for a brighter India can not be seen.

American English

- But when things in my life get difficult, I *get lost in shame* and feel such sorrow for the person I was.
- And I could no more turn my eyes away from where she *stood in shame* than hasten my steps down the stairs to her aid.

Y putting X into a bounded space → Y putting X to shame

Indian English

- It does not matter what excuse he uses, bottom line, do you have to convert? If conversion is expected (in almost all cases), have you read Hindu-Muslim Marriage carefully and are willing to live through Muslim life proudly? Considering risks are very very high, it is worth *putting* your parents *to shame*? If you get the talaak after marrying him, what is your back up plan, we hope not your parents?

American English

- I soon learn that Henry, at 82, is without a doubt the most physically fit octogenarian I've ever met. This guy is a grad-school John Glenn, and would *put* most 40-year-old American males *to shame* in an endurance or hiking contest.

The length of being in a bounded space → the length of being in shame

Indian English

- There's so much in this book that you have probably never heard of: the goddess Saraswati was born a siren named Sandhya, gave up her *life in shame* and was revived as Saraswati by Shiva.
- The idea behind it was to preserve the woman's sanctity and that she need not *live in shame*.

American English

- I think I got enough, actually. We headed north after watching an emotional tape from Rachel Bernard, a viewer who's *lived in shame*, she says, since she was a little girl.
- Her husband has *cast* the entire family *into eternal shame* by screwing investors, it would seem, and she's living with it, and he's living with it, in his eighth year of house arrest or something like that, upstairs.

The following mapping is found in the American English database only:

Getting in a bounded space → getting in shame

American English

- If she stopped now, it could only be a *retreat into shame* and embarrassment.
- I moved my gaze up to his eyes, squeezed shut like a child's, trying to *disappear into* their own blackness and *shame*.

Getting out of a bounded space → getting out of shame

American English

- She replies, "to help people *rise out of shame*, pain, anger and self loathing – I want to help create empowerment for people to go within themselves and create love.

The number of mappings identified in the Indian English database is 3 (the mapping type frequency is 2.65%). The number of mappings identified in the American English database is 5 (the mapping type frequency is 3.82%). This suggests that the metaphor is more elaborate in the American context. 5 linguistic expression types and 370 linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database (the type frequency is 3.01% and the token frequency is 10.02%). 9 linguistic expression types and 302 linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (the type frequency is 3.28% and the token frequency is 8.29%). The metaphor appears to be productive in the Indian context. Overall, the understanding of SHAME in terms of this metaphor is of similar salience in the two contexts. The metaphorical salience is 15.68% in the Indian English database. The metaphorical salience is 15.39% in the American English database. It is the 5th most salient conceptual metaphor in both databases.

SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE (LIQUID, GAS, MIXED SUBSTANCE)

SHAME IS A LIQUID

The Indian English and the American English linguistic expressions illustrate that SHAME is conceptualized as a substance of a particular matter. In the majority of the examples, it appears as a fluid (liquid or gas), the liquid matter being extensively more salient than the gaseous matter in both contexts. Understanding SHAME as a substance happens irrespective of where the substance is located (in the body conceptualized as a container or on the surface of it). In terms of the SHAME IS A LIQUID conceptual metaphor, people *bath in shame*, they *mire in shame*, they *sink into the quagmire of shame* and they *soak in shame* (American English). Also, they *drown* or *wallow in shame* (Indian English). The meaning focus is the matter of the substance and that people (or other entities) are in the substance. *Being in* and *getting into* shame are instances of two sub-metaphors of the Event Structure metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The (EMOTIONAL) STATES ARE LOCATIONS sub-metaphor can be observed in expressions like *bath in shame*, *soak in shame* (American English) or *drown in shame* (Indian English). The CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS sub-metaphor is observable in linguistic expressions like *sink into the quagmire of shame* (American English). The following examples are further illustrations of the SHAME IS A LIQUID metaphor:

Indian English

- “This made matters worse. You've misbehaved with such a nazuk (delicate) and khoobsoorat (beautiful) girl, tumhein to doob marna chahiye (you should *drown* yourself *in shame*),” said my mother.
- There are some in the country who are *steeped in shame*.
- The common assumption behind medical science, including psychiatry and psychology, is that human health and life is valued, and we should seek to improve it. The fine line that psychiatrist and psychologists tread is between identifying and treating dysfunction and crushing the individuality of their clients by *instilling* social and personal *shame* for being different.
- It began with the racist incidents in January in Bengaluru wherein like-minded people were *wallowing in shame* and misery.

American English

- I'd woken from the nightmare *bathed in shame* and feeling heartbroken. I wanted to wake from my dreams feeling smart.
- Even better with a young man of twenty-three, still *mired in shame*: he won't be bragging to anyone, still thinking what he's doing is dirty, and you can go back to work at the shoe store with no one ever gossiping about you.
- But stranger things have happened in American presidential history. What is clear is that without such a seizing of the moral initiative, the Clinton presidency will slowly *sink into the quagmire of shame*, and all Americans will be the losers.

- The more you *soak in shame* and arrogance and ignorance about a new character shows how far you're capable of thinking into the future.
- She heard her aunt yell from the top of the stairs, but her hunger had already *evaporated*, along with her *shame* and fatigue.
- Still I felt inept with a *splash of shame* as I had disappointed this totally entitled 19 year old.
- I no longer have nightmares or flashbacks. My days and nights are not *drenched with shame*.
- I wouldn't have to hear that whisper or see all that human matter *dripping with* sweat and *shame* and, against its will, begging a stranger.
- Fearing that if I told anyone then that thinly veiled thing called MY LIFE—the one I had been hanging onto so tightly—would *sink with shame*.

The intensity of the emotion is expressed in terms of the depth of the liquid. That is, the conceptualization is motivated by correlations in experience. The depth of the liquid corresponds to the amount of the liquid. According to Kövecses (2005, p. 27), INTENSITY is conceptualized in various ways (in terms of HEAT, SPEED or STRENGTH). In the present case, the intensity of shame is conceptualized in terms of QUANTITY. It is the QUANTITY IS DEPTH and THE INTENSITY IS QUANTITY metaphors that build up the INTENSITY IS DEPTH correspondence. The deeper the liquid, the more intense the emotion is. This is illustrated by the following metaphorical linguistic expressions:

Indian English

- Instead of taking it personally and sitting on his ego, I hope Teji Bindra thanks you for warning him and hopefully preventing him from jumping into a *deep ditch of shame*, betrayal and treachery from which there is no return.
- In the midst of the exultant joy which is pervading our country, there also stand today those who indeed partake fully of this joy but not without *deep shame* because until the end they had not understood the right course.

American English

- Shame is lethal, shame is deadly and we are *swimming in* it *deep*.
- Perhaps the most important barrier to men taking responsibility, however, is their reluctance to expose themselves to *the ocean of* guilt and *shame* they believe awaits them if they acknowledge that patriarchy and male privilege exist.

The following systematic correspondences are identified in the databases:

The substance (liquid) → the emotion
The object → X (the person/an entity (e.g., a country))

The object in the substance (liquid) → X in shame
The depth of the substance (liquid) → the intensity of the emotion

In terms of elaboration, this conceptual metaphor appears to be similar in the two contexts. Four mapping types are identified in both databases. The mapping type frequency is 3.54% in the Indian English database, while it is 3.05% in the American English database. The number of the types of linguistic expressions is significantly higher in the American English database. Eleven linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database, while only 6 linguistic expression types are detected in the Indian English database. This indicates that understanding SHAME as a LIQUID is more productive in the American context. The type frequency is 4.01% in the American English database, while it is 3.61% in the Indian English database. There is no significant difference in the number of the tokens of linguistic expressions. Twenty-five metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 0.69%) and 20 in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 0.54%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the LIQUID conceptual metaphor is of similar salience in the two contexts. The metaphorical salience in the American English database is 7.75%, while it is 7.69% in the Indian English database. This suggests that the metaphor is peripheral in both contexts.

SHAME IS A GAS

In terms of the state of matter, SHAME is further conceptualized as a gas. This, however, seems to be peripheral in both the Indian and the American understanding. People *blow away shame* (Indian English) or they *breathe shame* (American English). The identified systematic correspondences with corresponding metaphorical linguistic expressions are listed below.

The mappings of the GAS metaphor are the following in both databases:

The substance (gas) → the emotion
X's actions with the substance → X's actions with the emotion

Indian English

- He *blew away* his *shame* with a stunning performance to win the tour this year.

American English

- I *breathe shame*, it gets absorbed into my system, it feels like a poison inside me.

Understanding shame in terms of the GAS source domain appears to be peripheral in both contexts. Two mapping types are identified in the databases and, therefore, there are no differences in elaboration. The mapping type frequency is 1.77% in the Indian English

database, while it is 0.05% in the American English database. There is only 1 linguistic expression type identified in both databases. This suggests that this is not a productive metaphor in either context. The type frequency is 0.6% in the Indian English database, while it is 0.36% in the American English database. The number of tokens identified in both databases is low. Three metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database and 2 in the American English database. The token frequency in the former is 0.08%, while the token frequency in the latter is 1.53%. Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the GAS conceptual metaphor is not salient. Whereas the salience in the Indian English database is 2.45%, it is 1.94% in the American English database.

SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE

Emotional experiences are complex in nature. In experiences with shame, it is often not shame only but shame in combination with other emotions that people feel. The analysis of the two databases illustrates that shame is likely to appear in a cluster with other emotions. This phenomenon is referred to in literal as well as in metaphorical descriptions of shame. The following linguistic examples illustrate the SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE conceptual metaphor.

The linguistic expression types below are identified in the Indian English database:

X has emotion 1 and emotion 2

- What will you do, for sure you will never quit (If you have *shame and love* towards your parents) you will go to law enforcing agency for complaint. If they don't listen you will take the matter in your hand to punish them.
- It is a matter of *shame and sadness* that days like this are rarely observed. We urge upon the government concerned to include such days in the calendars of schools and colleges to be observed as holidays.

A mixture of emotion 1 and emotion 2

- The employee said he was feeling a *mixture of guilt* and *shame*.

A mix of emotion 1 and emotion 2

- In 2008, when Abhinav Bindra won Gold at the Beijing Olympic Games, Jindal had felt a *mix of pride and shame*: Why wasn't the Indian national anthem heard more often at the Games?

A combination of emotion 1 and emotion 2

- Neither Chandini nor anybody else from the family has visited Ramanand in the six years since his arrest. The decision of Ramanand’s family to severe ties with him

seems to be a *combination of* extreme *shame, anger and disappointment along with* the *fear* of angering the community if they were seen to be supporting him.

A mixed sense of emotion 1 and emotion 2

- For a few years post the 1984 Sikh carnage, Sardar jokes did not sound funny. Those were difficult times. There was a *mixed sense of anger, shame, and embarrassment* among Sikhs and non-Sikhs.

A mixed feeling of emotion 1 and emotion 2

- Why do criminals cover their faces infront of medias? I think it is their *mixed feelings of shame and guilt*. On the lighter side, "Parde mein rehne do, Parda na uthao, Parda jo uth gaya to, Bhes Khul jayega, O Police meri tauba O police meri tauba."

Soul shuttling between emotion 1 and emotion 2

- My friend would just ask them to dance. "Magar yaar, how many like me are there?" I still don't know how I tolerated my friend's high moral ground. The truth was laid bare. His cool countenance betrayed a soul *shuttling between shame and pride*.

The following linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database:

Emotion 1 turns to emotion 2

- Disgraced television evangelist Jimmy Swaggart, for example, probably felt shame for his adulterous liaison with a prostitute, Gross said. But that *shame turned to embarrassment* when the public found out.

Emotion 1 mixed with emotion 2

- A strange, unidentifiable expression crossed her mother's face. *Anger mixed with shame*, maybe?

Complex mixture of emotion 1 and emotion 2

- With a *mixture of pride and shame*, he showed us his makeshift home.

Emotion 1 mutates into emotion 2

- Roger's *anger*, quick as it had come, *mutated into shame*.

Commingled emotion 1 and emotion 2

- These are not men accustomed to speaking in such a way in lowered voices and with an air of *commingled shame and rage*.

X has emotion 1 and emotion 2

- Living a life of authenticity and intimacy means allowing ourselves to be vulnerable. *Shame and fear*, whether from external or internal sources.
- I feel *shame and sadness* for those who tried to salvage some honor by delivering yet another speech of condemnation and indignation.

Emotion 1 tinged with emotion 2

- She hated her friend and this *hatred* was *tinged with shame*.

Emotion 1 taints emotion 2

- Marriage will serve as proof of Betty's virtue by publicly proclaiming the high value that Gene sets upon her and will have the added benefit of legitimizing Betty and Gene's sexual contact and eliminating the guilt and *shame* that *tainted their feelings*.

The same systematic correspondences are identified in the databases:

The substance → the emotion/concept
The mixed substance → a combination of emotions/concepts

Two systematic mappings are identified in the databases. The mapping type frequency in the Indian English database is 1.77%. The mapping type frequency in the American English database is 1.53%. This suggests that the metaphor is similarly elaborated in the two contexts. Seven linguistic expression types and 157 linguistic expressions are motivated by this metaphor in the Indian English database (the type frequency is 4.21% and the token frequency is 4.25%). Eight linguistic expression types and 144 linguistic expressions are motivated by this metaphor in the American English database (the type frequency is 2.92% and the token frequency is 3.95%). This suggests that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of this metaphor appears to be slightly more salient in the Indian context. The salience in the Indian English database is 10.23%. Salience in the American English database is 8.4%.

SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER

The understanding of the emotion as a substance in any ways related to containers is motivated by our knowledge about physical containers, namely that they have a top, a bottom and a capacity. We know that various types of substances behave in particular ways in containers. Our experiences tell us that it is possible to locate substances inside and outside containers, as well on their surfaces. It is the CONTAINER image schema that comprises all our knowledge about containment and containers. It is this image schema, as

well as the SURFACE image schema that underlies the metaphorical understanding of SHAME as a SUBSTANCE LOCATED ON THE CONTAINER. As the following metaphorical linguistic expressions illustrate, the meaning focus of this metaphor is the existence of the emotion as *being on* something. Various types of entities are potential containers shame is seen as being located on: *people*, *India*, *families* (Indian English examples) or *campaigns* and different body parts (*the heart* or *the head*) (American English examples). The corresponding mappings and the linguistic examples are the following:

The substance → the emotion
The container → X
The substance on/upon/over the container →the emotion on/upon/over X

Indian English

- It's a *shame on* people who are still crying after reservations. The goal here is equality of all. And reservation is just a means to achieve the end.
- Her name included in panama papers but everyone is forgiving she couldnt do it in hollywood except minor roles because one needs talent for hollywood not photoshop and skin bleach with whitened dark face and fake attitude she will always be a shame on indians promoting the idea of darkness inferiority despite being beauty queen thus supporting the idea fair lovely... *shame on* her. An insecure lady can never be beautiful despite thousand of crown.
- It is *shame on* India that we have not achieved enough access to education/ development/ opportunity for the rural people.
- Because of a lack of appropriate information for the population in general and mothers in particular, noma tends to be perceived as a curse or as *shame on* the family whose child contracts it. It is certainly a powerful taboo that causes families to sometimes hide or isolate their children whose faces are disfigured by this disease with their animals.

American English

- *Shame on* you. *Shame on* you for giving him the authority to invade Iraq.
- I guess it's OK for the Republicans to pander to Sept. 11 sympathies to drum up donations. But should someone use it to point out the irony of the truth, well, *shame on* him.
- *Shame on* Schoettler for being so sexist, and for labeling the "pro-life agenda" as "anti-choice". And, more than anything, shame on her for being an intelligent woman who should understand care, nurture and life.
- And then, when we got smart enough to want to be treated better, they abused us and *piled* blame and *shame on our heads*.

- Sometimes the person we've offended heaps more *shame on our hearts* by reminding us of our past.
- This is beyond a stretch to blame Romney for his wife's death. *Shame on* the Obama campaign for airing such an ad.

Neither the Indian English nor the American English linguistic expressions are explicit about the matter of the substance. It is not clear whether shame is a liquid or a solid substance in the frame of this conceptual metaphor. Reference is detected, however, to the amount of the substance piled on the surface of the container. The amount of the emotion corresponds to the intensity of the emotion via the INTENSITY IS AMOUNT correlation-based metaphor. The following linguistic expressions illustrate this:

The amount of substance on the container → the amount of shame on X

Indian English

- Vanniyars gathered as a mob, *hurling shame on* them as petrol bombs, cursing them with swear words challenging their self respect and freedom of choice.
- Demons will take possession of others and through them curse, revile and *heap shame on* us.

American English

- We have a cultural problem that can not be fixed by *heaping shame on* teenagers or poor people for having kids.
- *The amount of shame on* her was so strong; we both knew she hated herself for doing it.

It is possible to remove the substance form the surface of the container. The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

The substance removed from the surface of the container → the emotion removed from X

Indian English

- Many are *shrugging off* years of stigma and *shame* to break into corporate, creative and bureaucratic fields.

American English

- She should remember that when that Flavio Biatore denied paternity, it was Seal who *took shame off* of her and married her. How could she have an interview so soon talking about how much the kids love him.

- Here's how to *shake off* that feeling of *shame* and keep moving forward with confidence.

As 5 systematic correspondences are identified in both databases, the elaboration of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor appears to be the same in the two contexts. The mapping type frequency is 4.42 % in the Indian English database, while it is 3.82% in the American English database. While there are 6 types of linguistic expressions detected in the Indian English database (the type frequency is 2.19%), there are 4 types of linguistic expressions identified in the American English database (the type frequency is 2.4%). This does not indicate a significant difference in the productivity of the conceptual metaphor in the two contexts. The number of tokens is somewhat higher in the Indian English database. Altogether 378 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified as being motivated by this conceptual metaphor (the token frequency is 10.24%). Somewhat less, 312 metaphorical linguistic expressions are detected in the American English database (the token frequency is 8.56%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of this conceptual metaphor seems to be more salient in the Indian English database. Salience in the Indian English database is 17.06%. Salience in the American English database is 14.57%. This suggests that this conceptual metaphor is outstanding in both contexts.

SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER

The SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor is related to the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER metaphor as both are motivated by the CONTAINER and the SURFACE image schemas. The two conceptual metaphors differ, however, in the sense that the former expresses the existence of the emotion with a focus on causation, while the latter does so highlighting the location of shame. The main theme of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor is that someone (Y) brings shame on the person (X) who, therefore, feels shame. In other words, the shame of X is caused by Y. The identified systematic correspondences are the following:

The substance → the emotion
The container → X (the body/an entity (e.g., family))
Y brings substance on/to/upon the container → Y brings the emotion on/to/upon X
The amount of substance brought on the container → the amount of shame brought on X

The following linguistic expressions illustrate these mappings:

Indian English

- It would *bring shame on* their family and community if Simon did not respect their beliefs - the friend added.
- This marriage had no value to you. And what do you care about what people would say? As if you cared when you *brought shame upon me* and *my family*?
- Her father registered a police report accusing his two sons of the murder of his daughter. According to the police report, Baloch's father alleges that his sons murdered his daughter because they believed she "*brought plenty of shame to* the family."
- At a time when the government is seeking partnership with the corporates by asking them to share or participate in social endeavours aimed at the betterment of the society as part of 'Corporate Social Responsibility', the acts of these corporates *cast shame on* the entire country. Is it not basic to voluntarily declare holiday on the polling day?

American English

- I am ashamed to be myself, and I see no point in continuing life if I'm just going to *bring shame on myself*. I know I worked really hard.
- Now should that *shame* be *placed upon* you by others, that's when the problems arise.
- I wasn't going to talk to him who *brought* so much *shame to* himself and to me.
- The flyer attempts to *cast shame on* blacks who might take food at campaign events of Mr. Ware.

Similarly to the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor, the metaphorical linguistic expressions do not give much information about the matter of the substance. It is not clear whether shame is a liquid or a solid matter. It is evident, however, that, in this metaphorical understanding too, it is not only the human body but also entities such as *the family* (Indian English) or *the country* (American English) that appear as containers *onto* which *shame is brought*.

Interesting about the metaphorical linguistic expressions that this conceptual metaphor evokes is that they present SHAME in somewhat different scenarios. The linguistic expressions in the American English corpus refer to scenarios where an external cause brings shame on the person, who, hence, is in shame. In contrast with this, the linguistic expressions in the Indian English corpora rather evoke scenarios in which a person's inappropriate behavior brings shame to someone else. The American understanding in these cases is individualized, while the Indian understanding presents shame as a public or social concept (shame in relation to others).

Because the number of mappings is the same in the two databases (4), the elaboration of the metaphor in the two contexts appears to be similar. The mapping type frequency is 3.54% in the Indian English database, while it is 3.05% in the American English database. There are 6 types of linguistic expressions detected in the American English database and 5 types of linguistic expressions in the Indian English database. Thus, the type frequencies are also similar. The type frequency is 3.54% in the Indian English database and it is 3.05% in the American English database. The productivity of this conceptual metaphor seems to be similar in the two contexts. The number of tokens is significantly higher in the Indian English database. This metaphor underlies 310 Indian English linguistic expressions (the token frequency is 8.39%), while it is detected in 169 American English metaphorical linguistic expressions only (the token frequency 4.64%). Overall, this metaphor seems to be outstanding in the Indian context, but more peripheral in the American context. Whereas the salience in the Indian English database is 14.94%, it is only 9.88% in the American English database.

6.1.2. Conceptual metaphors of control

Eight conceptual metaphors identified in the corpora provide an understanding of SHAME that evokes scenarios of control. In these scenarios, the emotion and the person affected by the emotion both appear as forces. In Talmy's (2003) terms, they are the Agonist (the "focal force entity") and the Antagonist ("the force element opposing the Agonist"). Both aim at exerting control over the other. Emotional scenarios of this type are force dynamic interactions in which, the "balance of forces can shift through the weakening or strengthening of one of the entities" (ibid, p. 419). Our understanding is based on the FORCE image schema. The forceful interaction between the entities is manifest in the following conceptual metaphors: SHAME IS A FORCE, SHAME IS AN OPPONENT, SHAME IS A HIDDEN ENEMY, SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE, SHAME IS A WILD ANIMAL, SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR, SHAME IS A TOOL, and SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER. These metaphors evoke two control scenario types: (1) both the emotion and the person are active forces and (2) the person is passively exposed to the emotion. Also, there are conceptual metaphors that highlight particular features of shame understood as a force.

SHAME IS A FORCE

The SHAME IS A FORCE conceptual metaphor depicts SHAME as a forceful entity in general. In essence, this metaphor is a manifestation of the CAUSES ARE FORCES conceptual metaphor (a sub-metaphor of the Event Structure metaphor). As Kövecses explains (2000a), "causes are metaphorical forces within the event structure" (p. 54). The linguistic expressions of the SHAME IS A FORCE conceptual metaphor depict the emotion as a driving force that *leads to something* (Indian English and American English), that *makes X do something* (American

English), that *drives* (Indian English and American English) and *shapes* (Indian English and American English) the person. The American English linguistic expressions further present the person as a plant that *withers* and *wilts* in shame. The corresponding examples are the following:

Indian English

- The police registered an FIR that the victim had committed suicide, and changed the husband's statement into an admission that his wife had committed suicide *driven by shame*.
- I think *shame shaped* most of my life, it's *had* an immense *impact*.
- Shame *leads to* improvement and encourages avoidance of incompetence.
- *Sharam persuades* young women that they should marry according to their parents' wishes, and in some cases, to continue to live within an unwanted marriage.

American English

- If *shame makes* us feel worthless, we are more likely to develop depression. Avoiding overwhelming shame is easier if we drink to excess or abuse drugs.
- Narcissists don't really love themselves. Actually, they're *driven by shame*. It's the idealized image of themselves, which they convince themselves they embody.
- We can, I think, agree that toxic *shame leads to* relapse for some people trying to get clean.
- I recognize myself in the next comic and *wither in shame* and self-loathing.
- I'm currently living in a foreign country and mangling my own second language, and the idea of having a bunch of people mock me mercilessly for it makes me *wilt in shame*.
- *Shame is a driving force* for many of us because society expects so much.
- There are many adults whose life and social skills have been *shaped by the forces of shame* in their youth.

The mappings identified in the databases are the following:

The force → the shame
The object → the self (X)
What the force does to the object (control) → what the emotion does to the self (control)

It is not claimed that the linguistic expressions identified as being motivated by the SHAME IS A FORCE general metaphor could not be grouped to other, more specific FORCE metaphors of SHAME. They are classified as examples of the SHAME IS A FORCE conceptual metaphor for two reasons. First, they are taken as examples of the forceful character of shame in general.

Second, the linguistic expressions do not explicitly show which kind of force shame appears as (OPPONENT, NATURAL FORCE or SOCIAL SUPERIOR).

The same number of systematic mappings is identified in both databases (3). This suggests that the metaphor is similarly elaborated in the two contexts. The mapping type frequency is 2.65% in the Indian English database, whereas it is 2.29% in the American English database. The linguistic expression types and tokens are higher in the American English database. Over 70 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 7 linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 1.98% and the type frequency is 2.55%). In contrast to this, 57 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 4 linguistic expression types are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 1.54% and type frequency is 2.4%). The numbers suggest that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. Overall, the understanding of SHAME in terms of the FORCE conceptual metaphor appears to be slightly more salient in the American context. The metaphorical salience in the American English database is 6.82%. The metaphorical salience in the Indian English database is 6.59%.

SHAME IS AN OPPONENT

The understanding of SHAME in terms of the OPPONENT source domain evokes scenarios where both the emotion (the Antagonist) and the person (the Agonist) are active agents that aim to control the other. The Indian English and the American English linguistic expressions depict three scenarios of the interaction of the two forces. The three scenarios are illustrated below:

(1) The person attempts to control the emotion/ the control is with the person

Indian English

- But hey, showing is better than telling. Here's an actual excerpt from the book that teaches you how to cope with and *defeat shame*.
- How do we make and remake our lives? Can we atone for our past? Can we *overcome shame*? And what does it mean to be a good person?
- By reimagining feminine hygiene products to provide support, comfort, confidence, and peace of mind, we aim to *eliminate shame*, empowering women and girls around the world.
- They *battle* the Nagada *shame*, fresh cases of malnourishment deaths have come in from Kendrapara's Lunimatia village where at least five tribal kids are reported to have died in last three months.
- Women *fight shame* in flood hit Bihar. Women are forced to relieve themselves in the open due to lack of toilets in the flood-hit scenario.

- In tribal hamlets in the districts of Wayanad, Palakkadu and Kasargod, girls like Janu end up as unwed mothers after falling victim to sexual harassment and exploitation, sometimes by influential men who refuse to acknowledge their responsibilities. Now, these women *face shame* and starvation.
- I don't have the statistics on that but too many of them certainly were dismissed and sometimes they were dismissed in absolutely scandalous circumstances," he said, adding that the instinct was to *protect* the church *from shame*.
- Now I started figuring out how to *save the shame* of my unmarried daughter being pregnant, this is a taboo in our society.

American English

- Shame is what old people feel when they lose control of everything they once took for granted. At the point in life when people have *conquered* many sources of *shame*, nature begins slowly removing their pride.
- In order to *defeat shame*, we have to talk about it.
- And there are a myriad ways we *defend against shame*. We might withdraw, try to be perfect, go into a rage, or numb ourselves with alcohol.
- She saw that her younger sister had *armed* herself *against shame*, but that she was helpless before the forces that changed atmospheres.
- Within this reality we find the fertile seeding ground of political correctness to be used as a *shield against shame*.
- I'm in my mid 40s and *battle shame* on a consistent basis.
- I return to my people to *face my shame*.
- We also *fight against shame* by choosing to stay in the race, fight the good fight, and live the grateful, worshipful life, even if we're the last ones standing.
- The images used nudity as a way to empower and *fight back shame* that had been cast on Chamoun.
- When I *wrestle with shame* and insecurity, it's never just one simple negative thought that goes away on its own.
- Did I not *save you from shame* and defeat? Is this the recompense that you pay? And yet even of you I would ask one favour. Have some kindness for my wife.
- We were all sad bare creatures. *Shame receded*. I just kept turning the pages.

(2) The emotion tries to control the person/ the control is with the emotion

Indian English

- Shaken and in total shock, she broke down in the lobby, explaining to the management what had transpired. However she was apparently so *overcome by shame* (would you believe it?) that she stubbornly refused to reveal the room number or the name of the perpetrator.

- When she sees him standing in front of her in almost a mutilated state she repents and *surrenders in shame*.
- It is *shame* which *assails* me and my fellow Bengalis, for we have all along conveyed what now appears to be an untruth that ours is a land of religious harmony.
- A deed of *shame destroys* one's hard earned reputation as a forest fire does an ancient forest.
- In India, I feel like *shame wins over* any hypothetical debate over a child—the cost of being an unwed mother is having people practically throw garbage at you.
- *Shame kills* as fast as TB.' Yes, that wretched one had turned the wheel for him with his trembling hand.

American English

- Adam and Eve, *gripped by shame*, are trying to escape the presence of God by trying to find a place to hide.
- The young man was *seized with shame* and fainted.
- Ira was aware of them, but kept her gaze trained on Evander, even as he *surrendered to shame*.
- *Shame* unhindered and pushed by authority figures can *destroy* a person's sense of self-worth.
- And I have witnessed fear and *shame kill*, far too frequently.
- Instead of *striving with* emotions like disgust, rage, *shame*, or blame to control or incorporate the sources of good, a child can develop more mature capacities.
- He heard groans and hisses of countless fiends gloating over their many *victims of* sin and *shame***.**
- And the *shame chokes me*. It covers me, it envelops, it crushes. I am gone and I am so sorry for what I have done and have not done.
- This spoke to me as I am feeling depressed and *overcome with shame* due to so many things – being divorced from ex with substance abuse problems, feeling like a failure as a mom, feeling inadequate at work – just not enough – I want good things – but don’t feel I deserve them – just not good enough.

(3) Neutral scenario

This scenario is neutral in the sense that it does not tell which agent is in control. The linguistic expressions grouped here refer to the *strength* and the *power* of shame as a force.

Indian English

- ‘National shame’, lajja – this is the sentiment most Indians feel, now that the raped girl has died. The *power of* this *shame* has forced a realization even in the mainstream media.
- Most of the women in Gujarat reported that they are shameful to use fields for toilet purpose. *The strength of* the sense of *shame* was expressed in the words of Raiben.

American English

- She discusses *the power of shame* in preventing people from pursuing meaningful and productive activities.

The following systematic correspondences are identified in the two databases:

Opponent 1 → the emotion
Opponent 2 → the self (X)
Opponent 1 trying to gain control over opponent 2 → the emotion trying to gain control over X
Opponent 2 trying to gain control over opponent 1 → X trying to gain control over the emotion
Opponent 1 winning over opponent 2 → the emotion winning over X
Opponent 2 winning over opponent 1 → X winning over the emotion
The features of opponent 1 → the features (strength/power) of shame
Opponent 2 saved from opponent 1 →X saved from shame

The following mappings are identified in the American English database only:

Opponent 2 being safe from opponent 1 → X being safe from the emotion

The OPPONENT source domain is central in both contexts. Nine systematic mappings are identified in the American English database and 8 in the Indian English database. This illustrates that, with the exception of the SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor, the SHAME IS AN OPPONENT is more elaborate in both contexts than any of the conceptual metaphors discussed so far. In the American English database, the mapping type frequency is 6.87%. In the Indian English database, the mapping type frequency is 7.07%. Over 180 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 23 linguistic expression types identified are in the American English database. In the American English database, the token frequency is 5.13% and type frequency is 8.39%. This indicates that the OPPONENT metaphor is more frequent and more productive in the American context. About 80 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 16 linguistic expression types are identified in the Indian English database. In the Indian English database, the token frequency is 2.14% and

type frequency is 9.63%. The salience of the metaphor is 20.39% in the American English database and 18.84% in the Indian English database.

SHAME IS A HIDDEN ENEMY

Understanding SHAME in terms of the HIDDEN ENEMY metaphor is similar to the OPPONENT metaphor in the sense that both metaphors depict the emotion as a forceful entity. The difference is that the HIDDEN ENEMY conceptual metaphor presents shame as a vicious, insidious and hostile force that approaches the person secretly. The attack on the person is not as overt as in the case of the OPPONENT source domain. The meaning focus of the HIDDEN ENEMY source domain is the secretly hostile character of shame.

The mappings identified in the two databases are the following:

The hidden enemy → the emotion
The hidden enemy's actions → the things the emotion does

Indian English

- The dope *shame* had returned to *haunt* India again, even as Narsingh claimed innocence.

American English

- Embarrassment and, for an instant, the familiar old *shame creeps up on me*, but I don't let it take hold.
- Heron crossed her arms, eyes on Singing Wolf where he looked away, *shame creeping up* his face.
- I was feeling *shame creep into* the deepest parts of his mind. I have always thought I was unworthy.
- At this point Im just trying to ignore the *creeping shame* and pressure to make a decision to be honest again, or to get healthy before I do.

The American English linguistic expressions further reflect the following mappings:

The characteristics of the hidden enemy → the characteristics of the emotion

American English

- Days turned into weeks, then into months until I felt a *sneaking shame* at the thought of going back to yoga after being away so long.
- She felt again the vague and *creeping shame* of childhood and longed for this night to be finished with.

The HIDDEN ENEMY conceptual metaphor does not seem to be specific to the understanding of SHAME. This source domain applies to other emotion concepts as well (e.g., *lurking fear*). Three systematic correspondences are identified in the American English database and only 2 in the Indian English database. This suggests that the metaphor is more elaborate in the American context. The mapping type frequency is 2.29% in the American English database and 1.77% in the Indian English database. The linguistic expression types and tokens are significantly higher in the American English database. 16 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 5 linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 0.44%/ the type frequency is 1.82%). In contrast to this, only 1 metaphorical linguistic expression and 1 linguistic expression type are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 0.03%/ the type frequency is 0.6%). The numbers suggest that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. Overall, the understanding of SHAME in terms of the HIDDEN ENEMY conceptual metaphor appears to be more salient in the American context. The metaphorical salience in the American English database is 4.56%. The metaphorical salience in the Indian English database is 2.4%. Overall, this metaphor is peripheral in both contexts.

SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE

Similarly to the OPPONENT source domain, the NATURAL FORCE source domain is based on the FORCE image schema. The important difference between the two is that in the frame of the SHAME IS AN OPPONENT conceptual metaphor the self has an active role, while in the frame of the SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE conceptual metaphor the self is completely passive against the impact of the forceful emotion (Kövecses, 2000a, p. 37). Shame *sweeps through* the self as a powerful force and the self, therefore, does not have the option to counter. This is illustrated in the linguistic expressions below:

Indian English

- And a *tsunami of shame* will *wash over* you -- but if you persist (or skip) to the closing twopage, 10-point list of grace dos on how to improve your slovenly, slothful, selfish self to ameliorate what Kaufman calls " the grace gap " in our " culture of coarseness, " where " our cult of casualness " reigns free, and we have cravenly " given in to gravity".
- And his voice cracked as the *shame swept over* him. But he had said it, he had forced it out, he had compelled himself to say that they would go; and he had realized that that was the way it would have to be because the strong mountain that he had built within himself was crumbling day by day.
- Well, as visions of *shame* and scandal *flood your mind*, your attention is absolutely riveted to what juicy nugget is about to spill out now.

- And I felt a *surge of shame* that I could feel this way about an innocent child, let alone my innocent child.
- It's important to establish that as they will be reading this, and I do not wish for them to be *struck by shame*, but at the same time, something they said recently drove me down this headspace in which I began to analyze the word 'culture'.

American English

- As *shame washes over us*, it leaves us innately fearful and vulnerable in some of the worst kind of ways.
- But this too *brought a wave of shame*. Had I so little self-respect?
- *Shame swamped* her. She had to talk to him.
- *Shame engulfed* me when I realized how close I had come to selling my soul in exchange for a ticket to popularity.
- She can only *quell* the *shame* by dropping the memory of her mother into one of her black holes and clamping down on her own body, so it will not betray its desires.
- And as much as I try to force it down, the hateful *shame swells in me* to eat holes in my chest.
- It was that shame we knew so well, the *shame* that *drowned* us after the selections.
- But if *shame strikes* more deeply into our hearts than terror, why don't we do anything about it?
- As soon as the words were out of her mouth she remembered how this woman had suffered, had lost her children, and she realized with a *flood of shame* that perhaps she was precisely as comfortable as Florence had accused her of being.
- I suspected it the whole time but obviously *stricken with shame* my husband did not confess until he ultimately went to jail behind his addiction.
- I could not meet the eyes of her family at the airport, *shame surging like a wind* through our empty bellies.
- Seeing those photos, I was *awash in shame*. I thought about the first time it had been explained to me that I'd need to lose weight as a child—the uncertainty of what had brought about the conversation, but the knowledge that I was meant to be ashamed.
- I spent most of my pregnancy hiding not wanting to be seen, because if people saw me, then they ask me questions about the guy or my life, and I just didn't want to answer them. But really, I was *engulfed in shame*. I soon became only a fraction of the vibrant, dynamic woman I once was.
- I miss a drink but because I do not miss being a drunk I will start counting again, I fail to congratulate myself and instead *flood with shame*.
- A small wave of *shame sweeps over* me every time I say "No". And why is that? Which leaves me to investigate further into the situation.

- I felt a deep, painful *welling of shame* and desolation when I looked at our own efforts at self-rule. It was embarrassing.

The understanding in terms of the NATURAL FORCE source domain is not unique to shame. It underlies the conceptualization of other emotion concepts as well (e.g., *a wave of anger sweeps over X*). Both the Indian English and the American English linguistic expressions of the NATURAL FORCE source domain depict shame as a liquid. Whereas speakers of Indian English refer to *tsunamis of shame*, speakers of American English talk about *floods* or *waves of shame*.

The following mappings are identified in the databases:

The physical object → the self (X)
The natural force → the emotion
The natural force aims to change the physical object → the emotion aims to change X
The physical object undergoes effect in a passive way → X responds to the emotion in a passive way

Because the number of systematic correspondences identified in two databases is the same (4), the NATURAL FORCE conceptual metaphor appears to be similarly elaborated in the two contexts. In the Indian English database, the mapping type frequency is 3.54%. In the American English database, the mapping type frequency is 3.05%. The linguistic expression types and tokens are significantly higher in the American English database. Over 70 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 16 linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database. In the American English database, the token frequency is 2.09% and the type frequency is 5.84%. In contrast to this, only 42 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 6 linguistic expression types are identified in the Indian English database. In the Indian English database, the token frequency is 1.14% and the type frequency is 3.61%. The numbers suggest that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. Overall, the understanding of shame in terms of the NATURAL FORCE source domain appears to be more salient in the American context. The metaphorical salience in the American English database is 10.98%. The metaphorical salience in the Indian English database is 8.29%.

SHAME IS A WILD ANIMAL

Understanding SHAME in terms of the WILD ANIMAL source domain depicts the emotion as a wild, negative force to which the person is exposed. Shame *eats up the person* (Indian English and American English) and people become *bewildered with shame* (American English). The following linguistic expressions illustrate this:

Indian English

- In nearly every case there are people out there who know the truth and have paid a price living with the burden of knowing it. Some are *eaten up by* guilt and remorse. Others by *shame* or anger.

American English

- Even with it zipped, she feared that the wallet would blurt into view in some way that she couldn't control, *unleashing* a cascade of horrors: arrest, *shame*, poverty.
- Talia felt like a snake was curling around her insides as the guilt, the *shame* over her own bad decisions *tried to claw free* from the dark corner where she had shoved them.
- The hardest part is forgiving myself. Guilt and *shame were eating me up*.
- The lady, *bewildered with shame* and fear, caused her own miscarriage.
- My teenage years were *devoured by shame* that forced me into hate, but somehow I got free.

The following mappings are identified in the databases:

The wild animal → the emotion
The actions of the wild animal on X → what the emotion does with X

The WILD ANIMAL source domain is not specific to the understanding of shame. It applies to other emotion concepts as well (e.g., *X is bewildered with anger*). This understanding appears to be peripheral in both contexts. Two systematic mappings are identified in the corpora and, therefore, the metaphor appears to be similarly elaborated in the two contexts. Only 1 linguistic expression type and 1 linguistic expression token are identified in the Indian English corpora (the type frequency is 0.6% and the token frequency is 0.03%). Five metaphorical linguistic expressions and 5 metaphorical linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database (the type frequency is 1.82% and the token frequency is 0.14%). This indicates that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. Overall, understanding shame in terms of the WILD ANIMAL source domain seems to be more salient in the American context. The metaphorical salience in the American English database is 3.49%. The metaphorical salience in the Indian English database is 2.4%. Overall, this metaphor is peripheral in both contexts.

SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR

As Kövecses (2000a) explains, the SOCIAL SUPERIOR source domain is "the social equivalent of physical-natural forces" (p. 37). The meaning focus is that shame comes as a (socially)

superior entity that exerts control over the person (the socially inferior entity). As the following linguistic expressions illustrate, a higher number of linguistic expressions types are identified in the Indian English database. Only one type is found in the American English database.

Indian English

- Crucially, they vindicate the loved ones of the disappeared who have been *consigned to* a state of silence and *shame*.
- For better or worse, in India *shame* is a *social check* on public conduct.
- Honour killings are a sinister, dangerous and dastardly way to *control women through shame*, guilt and when that does not work, extreme violence.
- Scientific reasons are only an issue again to maintain how *shame rules* the society.
- *Shame governs* and underlies all references to civilized or proper behaviour appropriate to girls and women, which deals with the realms of morals.

American English

- Here, a man with NPD and borderline traits explains how *shame rules* his life, and how he treats people who unknowingly trigger it.
- Past work also shows that *shame governs* offenders' decisions whether to confess to their victims.
- Many of us have gotten stuck in looking in the direction *shame dictates*, and missing the rainbow.

The following mappings are identified in both databases:

The social superior → the emotion
The social inferior → the self/an entity (e.g., society)(X)
The actions of the social superior with the social inferior → what the emotion does with the self (X)
Control of the social superior over the social inferior → the control of the emotion over the self

The same number of systematic correspondences is detected in the two databases (4) for the SOCIAL SUPERIOR conceptual metaphor. This indicates that the metaphor is similarly elaborated in the two contexts. The linguistic expression types and tokens are higher in the Indian English database. 64 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 5 linguistic expression types are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 1.73%/ the type frequency is 3.01%). In contrast to this, 18 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 3 linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 0.49%/ the type frequency is 1.09%). The numbers suggest that the metaphor is

more productive in the Indian context. Overall, the understanding of SHAME in terms of the SOCIAL SUPERIOR conceptual metaphor appears to be more salient in the Indian context. The metaphorical salience in the Indian English database is 8.28%. The metaphorical salience in the American English database is 4.63%.

SHAME IS A TOOL

The SHAME IS A TOOL conceptual metaphor is similar to the SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR conceptual metaphor in the sense that shame appears as a form of control over the person in each. While in terms of the SOCIAL SUPERIOR source domain SHAME is the agent that exerts control over the person, the SHAME IS A TOOL conceptual metaphor underlies linguistic expressions that describe what purpose shame is *used* for and how it becomes *a tool* in exerting control over the person. Shame is dominantly used as a means to *punish*, to *control*, to *torment* and to *silence* people.

The mappings identified in the two databases are the following:

The tool → the emotion

Indian English

- According to Shah, *shame is used* as a behaviour changing tool by parents when raising children in India.

American English

- We will not allow the enemy to *use shame* to make us feel bad about who we are.

The purpose the tool is used for → the purpose the emotion is used for

Indian English

- It struggles to break free of the act it must play and *punished with shame* when the mask is loosed.
- Where are the gau rakshaks[21]? They should rush to Rajasthan's capital, where they are guaranteed a lot of work and villains. If the punishment for allegedly eating beef, skinning a dead cow devoured by a tiger is death by lynching or *shame by flogging*, imagine how busy they would be avenging the death of 500 gau matas[22], in two weeks, in a shelter run by the government?

[21] The Bhartiya *Gau* Raksha Dal is a Hindu cow protection organization. Its members are volunteers and function in all states of India. The purpose of the organization is to catch cow smugglers. In Hindu belief the cow is a sacred animal. (Source: http://bgrd.in/India/our-work/)

[22] *Gau mata* is the Hindu term for the cow that is considered holy in India. (Source: http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Gau+Mata)

- Employees of microfinance companies, including SKS, urged other borrowers to seize the family's chairs, utensils and wardrobe and pawn them to make loan payments, her family told investigators. Unable to bear the insults and pressure of the crowd of borrowers who *sat outside her home for hours to shame her*, Rajyam drank pesticide on September 16, 2010, and died, the family says.
- The strength of the male dominance view is clear from the fact that rape is still considered to be a way to *punish* women and their families *with shame*.
- *Shame is a* very powerful *silencing device*. Until people begin to tear away that silence and speak up - the myths, the lies will persist.

American English

- But at that moment it seemed he was *tormenting* me *with shame***.**
- This, in Freud's unlovely term, is the superego; analogous to the conscience, it *punishes* one *with shame* and guilt, speaking with the voice not of divinity but of society.

The mappings identified in the Indian English database only are the following:

The characteristics of the tool → the characteristics of the emotion

Indian English

- *Shame is used* to control or diminish you or others. It is *invisible* and *infectious*, especially in family systems that normalize it through the guises of religion.
- On the other hand, *shame* has been *used* against women *as a double-edged sword*. They are easily tag-marked as shameless transgressors for acts like marrying without the consent of family, seeking a divorce, asking for share in ancestral property, refusing to cover hair, faces, or bodies etc.

Shame as a tool in the Indian context is *invisible* and *infectious*. The last example illustrates metaphorical understanding as based on perceived similarity. Shame, resembling the features of a *double-edged sword*, is a dangerous and lethal weapon.

Five systematic correspondences are identified in the Indian English database and 3 in the American English database. This indicates that the metaphor is slightly more elaborate in the Indian context. The mapping type frequency in the Indian English database is 2.65%, while it is 1.53% in the American English database. Both the type and the token frequencies are higher in the Indian English database. 38 metaphorical linguistic expressions and 5 linguistic expression types are identified in the Indian English database. In the Indian English database, the type frequency is 3.01% and the token frequency is 1.03%. It is suggested that this metaphor is more productive in the Indian context. 23 metaphorical

linguistic expressions and 3 linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database. In the American English database, the type frequency is 1.09% and the token frequency is 0.63%. Overall, the understanding of shame in terms of the TOOL conceptual metaphor appears to be more salient in the Indian context. The salience of the metaphor in the Indian English database is 6.69%. The salience of the metaphor in the American English database is 3.25%. Overall, this metaphor is peripheral in both contexts.

SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER

The SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor is related to THE SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor in the sense that both are based on the CONTAINER image schema. It seems, however, that the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor provides a more complex understanding of the emotion. It not only gives an understanding of SHAME as a substance being located somewhere (this time, inside the container), but it also focuses on the effects of shame as a substance that behaves in particular kinds of ways.

The analysis of the linguistic expressions reveals that the container of shame (as a substance) is characteristically the entire of the body. In both the Indian and the American understanding, it is possible that the container is the eyes or the heart. The Indian English linguistic expressions further list the mind as a container. The American English linguistic expressions refer to the guts, the chest, the stomach, the throat or the veins as potential containers. The linguistic expressions below serve as examples for the container types identified in the two databases:

Indian English

- *In* my *heart* I was feeling very much *ashamed*, because although I had received so much instruction and encouragement from him, I had still not fully committed myself.
- I hear you, I hear you, but at six to eight bucks a pop further South, I had to walk seven miles before I even dared to mumble in my humblest voice, and *with my eyes filled with shame* and mortification?
- The scores of pieces that have appeared recalling India's humiliating military defeat at the hands of China in 1962, show that the trauma and *shame* still *rankle in the minds* of the experts who are only too aware of India's changed status 50 years later, but who are unable to forget or look back at the event with the advantage that hindsight gives.
- The relatives, as *full of shame* as livid they were, invited Kumar home and gave him a sound thrashing before handing him over to police.
- I *have shame inside* me so I cant talk openly about all such things!

- I was reading your eyes; *eyes devoid of shame*, not supporting your words because of the embarrassment, and full of lies. I got you buddy!
- *Shame left* India, tweets civil society over gangrape victim's death.
- *Shame* surely does not *live in* him anymore. Otherwise he would have acted differently.

American English

- *Shame was inside my chest*, I was lost.
- A well-remembered sense *of shame grew in* his *gut*.
- I do not want to see *shame in your eyes*. Hold your head proudly and tell the truth.
- *Shame filled my eyes*, identity disguised and draped in disgust. Unable to react, unable to take back my virginity, unable to take back my dignity.
- A *bottomless shame burrowed* into the pit of my *stomach*.
- My *throat* felt *clogged with shame*, and I could barely see the road through my tears.
- A split-second later my *heart pounded in* fear and *shame*.

In regard to the matter of the substance, shame dominantly appears as a fluid in the Indian and American contexts. The following linguistic expressions illustrate this:

Indian English

- Every woman should be *filled with shame* by the thought that she is a woman.

American English

- A cup of joe with milk and three pieces of sweet bread and he would return with the order *overflowing with shame*.
- I'd bet there isn't one *speck of shame* left in me.

It is interesting to note that the metaphorical linguistic expressions of this conceptual metaphor both refer to positive and negative conceptions of shame in the Indian English database. People *have shame* and *shame lives in* them in order to help appropriate forms of behavior and living. The positive interpretation of shame in the linguistic expressions of the CONTAINER source domain is not detected in the American English database.

The understanding of SHAME as a SUBSTANCE INSIDE THE CONTAINER is a force dynamic one, as both the emotion (the Antagonist) and the self (the Agonist) appear as forceful entities with the aim to gain control over the other. The interaction of the two leads to two potential scenarios: (1) the self has control over the emotion and (2) the emotion has control over the self. The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

(1) The self has control over the emotion

Indian English

- And I must say being under such cruel and inhumane everyday tortures in one's own country definitely snatches away one's peace of mind. The victim is always under constant fear and trauma. These people feel unprotected and watched upon in the very country they belong to. I can feel their pain somewhere inside me and I wish for something that *kicks out* this *shame from* India.
- The naga prince *represses* his *shame* in order to follow the Eight Precepts.
- You called out the culture of silence that imprisons young women, making them *internalize* a *shame* that should be that of their perpetrators.
- With no toilets facilities or even changing rooms, the women have to *swallow* their *shame* and ask favors from residents, while some, too ashamed to do so, are brusquely pointed to road corners.

American English

- *Repressing shame*, his backbone is rigid, his face is straight ahead.
- This makes up for the last time. The *shame* of his brother had been *expunged*.
- In our March 2013 issue, former model Tomiko Fraser Hines, then 44, shared her struggle with infertility in hopes that it would *remove* the guilt and *shame* women often endure when faced with this situation.
- His father could be strong, losing money without speech or expression, *swallowing* his *shame*.
- His *internalization of shame* gives rise to a repertoire of gestures that he rigorously repeats.

(2) The emotion has control over the self

Indian English

- Feelings of *shame* and irritation *assailed* by turns *in the mind* of Nabendu Sekhar. Still he could not forego the company of his sisters-in-law, especially as the eldest one was beautiful.

American English

- Alpha anti-terrorist team who led the attack on Pervomayskoye *could not contain* their rage and *shame*.
- Feeling *shame* means I think of myself as a bad person. That is when I take the chance it may *spill over* on to the wrong person at the wrong time.

A striking difference in the understanding of SHAME in terms of the SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER source domain is that the American English linguistic expressions invoke the concept of heat. The concept of heat is not referred to in the Indian English linguistic expressions. With HEAT involved, an alternative of the CONTAINER metaphor, the SHAME IS A HOT SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor becomes part of the American understanding of the emotion. The concept of heat goes hand in hand with the concept of intensity. As illustrated by the examples below, the American English linguistic expressions depict more intense forms of shame:

American English

- She feels a *hot shame rushing up and down her body*, but she doesn't want him to see that she's about to cry.
- We felt that coursing sense of *shame* that *runs hot* through your *veins.*
- Afterward, catching his breath, he experienced a different kind of heat, *a hot well of shame* that *bubbled inside him*. He'd been acting like a peon, taking brujas seriously.
- *Shame burned through me*, racing across my skin in a heated blush.

The EMOTION IS A HOT SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor underlies the understanding of other emotions, most of all, that of anger. As Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) argue, our knowledge about the behavior of hot substances in containers serves as the basis of our understanding of anger. Part of this conceptualization is that the intensely hot substance, because of the high pressure, eventually makes the container explode. The American linguistic expressions that depict the intensity of shame as a hot substance in the body-container do not refer to pressure. Pressure-related metaphorical entailments are not part of the SHAME IS A HOT SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor.

The analysis of the linguistic expressions reveals the systematic correspondences listed below. Most of the mappings imply the existence of shame and the control aspect of the shame scenario, namely that the person and the emotion both attempt to gain control over the other. The difference comes in regard to HEAT-related correspondences, which seem to be part of the American understanding only. The SHAME IS A HOT SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR depicts more intense forms of shame. Hence, the intensity aspect appears to be more highlighted in the American understanding. The length of the existence of shame is referred to in the Indian English database only.

The mappings of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER metaphor that the two databases share are the following:

The container → the body (or other body part/organ) of X
The substance in the container → the emotion in X

The quantity/level of the substance increasing in the container → the intensity of the emotion increasing in X
Removing the substance from the container → X getting rid of the emotion
Attempt to keep the substance inside the container → attempt to keep the emotion unexpressed
The inability to control the substance → the inability of X to control the emotion

The mappings in both contexts refer to the intensity of the emotion. A potential way of expressing intensity is through the correspondence between the level of the substance going up or down in the container. This understanding is motivated by the UP-DOWN image schema and it is expressed in the following mappings:

The quantity of the substance increasing in the container → the intensity of the emotion increasing in X

Indian English

- I was raped when I was five till I was seven. I had *so much shame inside* of me. And if you told me I had it, I'd say' I'm fine'. You can't see psychological wounding.
- I think it's impossible not to feel some envy at the successes of a colleague who is vying with you for a place, and this can *arouse* guilt and *shame*.

The quantity of the substance decreasing in the container → the intensity of the emotion decreasing in X

Indian English

- The insult and rudeness was so much to bear for the young girl; she decides to faint her face white to *reduce the shame* and sorrow in her parents because of the colour of her skin.
- After the Gaya incident, if there is even a *little shame left in* him, he should tender resignation from CM's post.

The level of the substance going up in the container → the intensity of the emotion increasing in X

American English

- Oddly enough, that feeling of *shame emerged in me* once again.
- The other day I saw a glimpse of myself as I walked past a mirror. I momentarily reacted as I would have years ago, feeling a *rise of shame* inside me.

- This secrecy around sex breeds a dynamic in which women, *full of shame*, rarely talk to each other about their shared experiences in the fields-let alone tell their husbands or legal authorities.
- Could it have been because they were women? or black? Or because segregation was still in full bloom? Have to say, anger and *shame rose in me.*

The level of the substance going down in the container → the intensity of the emotion decreasing in X

American English

- Most of us feel a *low level of shame* all the time and this has to do with the ego. Most of us believe who we are, is the ego.
- If I am able to simply communicate what is happening with me to someone who loves me, the power of my *shame diminishes* in me.

Part of the American understanding of shame is HEAT. The change in the temperature of the emotion is in correspondence with the change in the intensity of the emotion:

The degree of the heat of the substance → the intensity of the emotion

American English

- This immediately *filled* me with a *shame so hot* that it seemed as if I would break into a sweat.
- *The heat of shame increased in* me.

A further mapping that is identified in the American English database only highlights the intensity aspect. It depicts such an intense form of shame that the person cannot contain it anymore.

The substance going out of the container → lack of control over the emotion by X

American English

- *Shame spills over*, and it spills on to the ones you love. I know what shame feels like.

An additional mapping in the American English database depicts shame as a substance the presence of which deprives the person of the ability to speak.

The substance clogging the container → the emotion clogging X

American English

- She pressed her lips together, her *throat clogged with shame* and regret. How could she have been so clueless?

The permanence of shame as a substance in the container is referred to in the Indian English database only:

The length the substance stays in the container → the length the emotion is in X

Indian English

- Shame, highly reputed *Shame,* once *lived in* a home of unfailing strength that comprised of stones of truthfulness, bricks of probity, sand of simplicity, cement of contentment, gravel of gravity, timber of altruism, glass of remorse, paint of piety, iron of humanity & water of purity.
- A sense of *shame lives in* these people.

Thirteen systematic correspondence types are identified in the American English database and 10 in the Indian English database. This suggests that the metaphor is more elaborate in the American understanding. This is supported by the finding that the SHAME IS A HOT SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER sub-metaphor is identified in the American English database only. In the American English database, the mapping type frequency is 9.92%. In the Indian English database, the mapping type frequency is 8.85%. Twenty-nine linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database (the type frequency is 10.58%) but only 17 in the Indian English database (the type frequency is 10.24%). This indicates that the metaphor is significantly more productive in the American context. Altogether 325 metaphorical linguistic expressions are found as being motivated by this conceptual metaphor in the American English database (the token frequency is 8.92%). Around 240 metaphorical linguistic expressions are detected in the Indian English database (token frequency is 6.6%). The overall salience of the metaphor is similar in the two contexts: 29.42% in the American English database and 25.69% in the Indian English database. The CONTAINER metaphor appears to be the most salient metaphor in both contexts.

6.1.3 Conceptual metaphors that highlight the evaluation of the emotion

Eleven of the conceptual metaphors identified in the corpora focus on the evaluation of shame. With the exception of one (the SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor), all present shame as a negative emotion. The DISEASE, the BURDEN, and the PRISON source domains describe shame as a force that exerts a type of control on the person that is experienced negatively. Shame puts limitations on the normal functioning of the person by *causing pain* (the SHAME IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor) and by being *unbearable* (the

SHAME IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor). It confines the person in a negative mental state it is hard to *escape* from (the SHAME IS A PRISON conceptual metaphor). In terms of the SHARP OBJECT and the UNDESIRABLE OBJECT source domains, shame *stabs* the person and it is better to *avoid* it. The SHAME IS DARKNESS conceptual metaphor indicates that the emotion is associated with the absence of light, which tends to have a negative connotation in both the Indian and the American cultures (Still, 2017, Rudrappa, 2004). In terms of the STICKY SUBSTANCE source domain, shame is conceptualized as a substance that gets *attached* to the person and that is *hard to get rid of*, which again indicates a negative evaluation. In terms of the POISON, the OBSTACLE, and the MONSTER source domains, which are detected in the American English database only, shame is *toxic*, *obstructive* and *miasmic*. Let us see the analysis of the 11 conceptual metaphors in greater detail below.

6.1.3.1 The negative evaluation of shame

SHAME IS A DISEASE

The DISEASE source domain depicts shame as a painful experience. The linguistic expressions of the Indian English and the American English databases illustrate 4 scenarios of this understanding. The four scenarios are listed below.

(1) This scenario illustrates the existence of the disease:

Indian English

- The *shame* and stigma that domestic workers in India experience *is* not simply *a symptom* of their inner life but is also sustained by external, social structures and processes.
- While there has to be a presumption of innocence until proven guilty, it's also a fact that most of these accused will get away scot free. If the prospect of their faces splashed in the media on their way in and out of court serves as even a modest deterrent to a future rapist, that would be a welcome step in addressing what Karkaria calls "the *disease of* misplaced *shame*."

American English

- Even the mornings when she woke up *consumed by shame* and self-loathing, and what she did the night before. It will destroy you, this knowledge, implacably and by degrees, but you want to know.
- Its president broke down and bawled before the cameras -- an astonishing *paroxysm of shame* that officials later learned was well justified.
- By this time I'm *sick with shame*. I can't think how this nightmare will end.
- This and other examples makes one *sick to his stomach with shame*.

- Justine Clarke's Meryl is given to spasm of babbling followed by *spasms of shame*, pulling back into herself and pulling down the shades.
- When I flipped through my mail and discovered the letter with the postmark of this town, I was shamed, the *wounded shame* of a naughty child.
- At her hearing, Corcoran attempted to convince the judge that she was deeply ashamed of what she had done, since her imprisonment. “I made selfish, horrible choices that will affect (the girl) for the rest of her life," Corcoran said.” I am *consumed by* guilt and *shame* every day," she said.
- Unlike the West, where it's fashionable to have a therapist, our society has always associated shame with *ailments of the mind*. "Log kya kahenge?" - the oft-repeated filmi dialogue plays on our minds, and scares us to the core.
- Without a doubt, the political landscape in America has become such a surreal wasteland of utter deceit and conspiracy that should a preponderance of citizens ever become aware of its breadth and depth, we will collectively suffer a *paroxysm of shame* as well as horror in having been so completely duped for so many years by so many whom we trusted.

(2) This scenario describes the suffering and pain caused by the disease:

Indian English

- Duryodhana was in the *pangs of shame* and wanted to commit suicide at that very moment.
- This book was about a woman who was able to face her fears, to *endure* pain, abuse, and *shame*.
- I refuse to *suffer* harassment and *shame* in silence just because of my gender.
- Radhika was still trembling when she put her head into her hands and started to sob. She was feeling an intense *pain of shame* and rejection. She was disgusted with herself. When she should have been thanking God for saving her, she was cursing her luck that Arjun had stopped their game of bluff.

American English

- Manny's pride still *writhed in shame* at the name she had called him.
- *Aching with shame*, snapping with bitterness, she sought other work.
- not do anything that would bring additional *painful shame* to their lives, and he was proud of himself for hanging in there
- Here, a man bends down and picks up the black feather where it has fallen and lain covered by the dress and Sarah *groans in shame* for everyone.
- What *hurts* the most in all of this, *shame*?
- He was beyond *suffering shame* for misusing a weapon.
- I feel only a faint *pang of shame* for exploiting my daughters' rivalry.

- A *twinge of shame* came upon her for driving him off, but her relief was greater.
- Walking home that afternoon, I was well down the slippery slope, eleven years old and in the *throes of shame*.
- We do this because *shame hurts*, it is uncomfortable and our mind does not like to be uncomfortable or in pain.

(3) This scenario emphases the recovery from the disease:

Indian English

- The only way India can *recover from* this *shame*, if they even now, follow these crimes up and enforce repayment of the moneys with damages to the country. There is every reason to feel angry and betrayed, show it where it hurts Destroy their reputations and get the money back Spend the money on the poor children.
- Beloved, know that it is I who heals all wounds through time. Come! Let us consider how I *heal* one of the most painful forms of emotional suffering -- *shame*. Shame results from a situation in which the human dignity is cruelly stripped from a person, exposing him/her to a crippling sense of unworthiness.

American English

- And in an age of loving too much, *healing our shame* and dancing with anger, who needs a professional when you can do it yourself with a little help from Oprah, John Bradshaw, Robert Bly or Dr. Ruth.
- In fact, McCain was never found to have done anything worse than exercise poor judgment, but it took him years to *recover from* the *shame*.
- Shame is an epidemic in our culture and to get out from underneath it (...) we have to learn emphathy because that is the *antidote to shame*.

(4) This scenario depicts as the person is infected by the disease:

Indian English

- In truth I felt the disgrace more than the hurt to my body, and was more *afflicted with shame* than with pain.

American English

- The twin brothers Manuel and Estaban are *plagued with a deep shame* about being identical.
- On the other hand, having recently extricated myself from an extramarital affair because of the moral *shame* I *inflicted* upon myself, I can sympathize completely with the former general's compulsion to confess his " bad " behavior, and in such a public way, as I am about to do.

The following mappings are identified in both databases:

The disease → the emotion
The disease causing pain in the body → the emotion causing pain in X
The body recovering from the disease → X relieved from emotion
The symptoms of the disease →the signs of the presence of the emotion

The following two mappings are identified in the American English database only:

The characteristics of the disease → the characteristics of the emotion
The antidote of the disease → the antidote of shame

The DISEASE source domain is not unique to shame as it motivates the understanding of other emotion concepts as well (e.g., LOVE IS A DISEASE, *love hurts*). It possible, however, that it is specific in the conceptualization of SHAME in the following sense. The SHAME IS A DISEASE conceptual metaphor is related to the MORALITY IS HEALTH conceptual metaphor (Ruiz 2008). As Garrett (2005) explains, it is the experience of health (in the basic physical sense) that is metaphorically used to help people understand the condition of moral well-being. Shame, being triggered by a morally inappropriate activity, is understood as an illness.

Seven systematic mappings are identified in the American English database and 5 in the Indian English database. This indicates that the metaphor is more elaborate in the American context. The mapping type frequency in the American English database is 5.34%. The mapping type frequency in the Indian English database is 4.42%. A significantly higher number of linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database. Whereas 15 American English linguistic expression types are detected (the type frequency is 5.47%), only 8 are found in the Indian English database (the type frequency is 4.82%). This suggests that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. Over 90 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 2.6%) and 74 metaphorical linguistic expressions in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 2%). Overall, understanding shame in terms of the DISEASE source domain seems to be more salient in the American context. The salience of the metaphor in the American English database is 13.41%. The salience of the metaphor in the Indian English database is 11.24%.

SHAME IS A BURDEN

Understanding shame in terms of the BURDEN source domain is based on the knowledge that people carrying heavy objects are incapable of moving. Shame in this understanding is *heavy to bear* (Indian English and American English) and it *weighs one down* (American English). The intensity of the emotion is expressed with the increased weight of the emotion. It is possible that one *crumbles from the weight of shame* (American English). The termination of shame is described as a *relief* from the burden.

The mappings identified in the databases and the corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

The burden → the emotion
The body carrying the burden → X carrying the emotion

Indian English

- A man supporting a wife in her career. How does he *bear* the *shame* and horror? It's obvious he should keep her back home to make roti and daal to uphold the family honour.
- Hundreds turn out for event honouring victims of the gurdwara shooting as many learn about the faith for the first time. Some came in sorrow, some in solidarity. Many *carried* a niggling sense of *shame*. It was not that the people of Oak Creek bore responsibility for the tragedy of a white supremacist shooting dead six worshippers in a Sikh temple on Sunday.
- More often than not, only *women* have to *bear the brunt of shame*.
- Through the video, Ms Joseph wanted to jettison the *baggage of shame* that came with talking about menstruation. “Nobody would talk about the details of it at all, because they were too shy,” she said. The teachers would say things like “This is a curse you have to bear.”
- The *burden of shame* was *placed on* the victim and not the perpetrators, and this created a level of impunity among men to commit more rapes.
- Presently, the family and the child is living under trauma and fear, the parents have the psychological *burden of* social stigma and *shame*. The family consists of 7 members, belong to dalit background and is below the poverty line. They possess neither homestead land nor agricultural land.

American English

- When it comes to sexual abuse, after a while it is not the act itself, but *the shame you carry* with it, that is what you cannot get over with.
- Dan, taking care of me, helping me, sticking up for me, *carrying* this horrible *shame* with him all along.

- My great aunt used to say „It is better to belch and *bear the shame* than it is to hold it in and bear the pain."
- Children who live with *unrelieved shame*, rage and fear can become angry teenagers and young adults who do the unthinkable.
- When I witness someone behaving badly, a weight of *shame descends* onto my shoulders as if by proxy. I can cry over a dog food commercial. It isn't all bad.

The weight of the burden → the intensity of the emotion

Indian English

- "Once your picture is out there, it will stay there. Even if you get it removed, there is someone with a screenshot of it. In cases like this (the 21-year-old victim from Salem), the *burden of shame* is *unbearable*, particularly without any support," says activist and secretary of the All India Progressive Women's Association, Kavita Krishnan.
- Aurangzeb was put to *unbearable shame* and even transferred Shaista Khan to Bengal as a punishment.
- Her father's abuse affects every part of her life; her good side fakes being perfect while her bad side, *heavy with shame* and self-loathing.

American English

- So if you have a lot of deep healing to do, sexual energy may ignite a huge amount of anger, sadness, fear, or shame. Especially shame in this culture. *Shame is the 600 pound gorilla sitting on* the collective genitalia of much of the culture in the U.S.
- It had made *his heart heavy with* grief and *shame* for what these men had done.
- "Carrying debt is like carrying a backpack full of bricks," says James Doan, a bankruptcy attorney in San Clemente, Calif. "It is *shame*, it *weighs* people *down*."
- My *shame weighs* ten pounds. That's what I gained over this summer. I don't regret it and I'm not ashamed of it at all.
- America's *unbearable shame* is the many soldiers sent off to wars but never taken care of once returned back home.

The body crushing under the weight of the burden → X crushed by the emotion

Indian English

- There had been a lot lately for him to watch in his aloneness: sometimes he saw himself *collapsing under the weight of the shame*, other times he felt his nerves on fire, barely containing a silent rage. He also knew somehow that the Council had noticed from afar what was happening, but had refrained from interfering.

American English

- When the question crosses my mind, I *crumble from the weight of* my *shame*.

The body relieved from the burden → X relieved from the emotion

Indian English

- The therapist I'd begun seeing after my release tried to *ease* my *shame*, telling me he'd "never trusted someone who could honestly tell me they'd never considered suicide."
- "Indian Prime Minister Modi comes to London on a state visit around 12th November, and on 13th November he is addressing a massive crowd at Wembley Stadium. I would love to see hundreds (if not thousands) of protesters, holding placards calling for him to lift the shameful ban on the film, and *lift the shame off* India," Leslie Udwin said.
- This requirement was obviously connected to the need to assuage a sense of guilt and culpability – giving *relief from shame*.

American English

- For angry young Muslims who feel disrespected, the call to jihad is an opportunity to restore dignity, honor, and respect, and, most significantly, to *alleviate* feelings of humiliation and *shame*.
- Jennifer says the *shame* has *lifted*, and her nightmares have finally stopped.
- Weight loss or control may be seen as a source of *relief from shame*; failure at weight loss another source of shame.
- I'd gotten most of the *burden* and *shame off my chest*, so this wasn't as cathartic as you'd expect.
- Trump is as *unburdened by shame* as he is by ideology.
- I'm not actually sure how to *get rid of shame*. I think it has something to do with realizing which things are lies.
- Once we work up the courage to reveal ourselves to another, the *shame lifts* off.

The following mappings are identified in the American English database only:

The length the body holds the burden → the length the emotion affects X (lingering)

American English

- *Burdened by* her *lingering shame*, she did things she later could not, or would not, remember.

- I later forgot my mother and my son, but I never forgot the sight of my father crossing the hallway with his arm tied to *his neck and his back bent under the weight of thousands of years of shame*.

The conceptualization in terms of the BURDEN source domain is not unique to shame. It is part of the metaphorical understanding of other emotions as well (e.g., *fear lifts*). The analysis of linguistic expressions makes it clear, however, that understanding SHAME in terms of the BURDEN source domain is outstanding in both contexts.

The number of systematic mappings in the American English database is 6 (the mapping type frequency is 4.58%). The number of systematic mappings in the Indian English database is 4 (the mapping type frequency is 3.54%). This suggests that the metaphor is more elaborate in the American English database. The number of the linguistic expression types in the American English database is 17 (the type frequency is 6.2%). The number of the linguistic expression types in the Indian English database is 13 (the type frequency is 7.83%). This indicates that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. 131 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 3.59%). 98 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 2.65%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the BURDEN source domain appears to be more salient in the American context. The salience of the metaphor is 14.37% in the American English database. The salience of the metaphor is 14.02% in the Indian English database.

SHAME IS A PRISON

The PRISON source domain depicts the experience with the emotion as confinement in prison. People in shame are incapable of moving freely because the emotion restrains them. The SHAME IS A PRISON conceptual metaphor highlights the negative character of the emotion.

The following linguistic expressions are illustrations of the metaphor:

Indian English

- Reading out a prepared statement, Naga Chaitanya said this marks the beginning of a life his late brother had always dreamt of a life "*free from shame*, free from the daily humiliation".
- Vikram Seth's India Today cover would only inspire more people to *break free from* the closet doors of *shame*, abuse and silence.

- Vidhyadhari, played remarkably by Ketki Thatte, is a tawaif, who had *broken away from the shackles of shame* and humiliation and presented herself to the world with self pride.
- Is the emotional dynamic that Gautama, not being able to *escape* inappropriate *shame*, creates deserved shame?
- When this happens, one is *stuck in shame*. The shame that one felt in relation to a certain situation has then stayed around and has become who they are.
- *Rescue from shame*: The family should not isolate themselves from outsiders, for, this only exacerbates emotional pain.
- *Death often is a release from shame*. *Kerala* also has the highest *rate* of individual *suicide* in India, after Sikkim.

American English

- My parents were two good people *trapped in shame*, an ancestral darkness that reached back beyond their parents.
- Later *rescued from* suicide and *shame* by a bumbling angel and generous townsfolk who kick in hatfuls of cash around the Bailey family's Christmas tree, George gets smooches from his lovely wife and a new lease on life.
- He was listening to loud, angry music, using drugs and alcohol to *escape the shame* that he was feeling.
- And those of us who've experienced incest and abuse have finally found a voice, and through our voices we've achieved a certain amount of *liberation from shame* and pain.
- *Shame holds* us *hostage* to a focus on the past, on ME instead of the future and what I can do differently next time.
- It can symbolize the *release from shame*. Many gay people have been made to feel shame over the fact that they are homosexuals. Declaring one's homosexuality openly is at the same time an act of shaking off the shame associated with it.

The following mappings are identified in both databases:

The prison → the emotion
Being in prison → being in shame
Escaping the prison → escaping the shame
Being rescued from the prison → being rescued from the shame
Released from the prison → relieved of shame

The following mappings are identified in the Indian English database only:

Breaking free from prison → breaking free from the emotion

Being free from prison → being free from the emotion

The number of systematic mappings of the SHAME IS PRISON conceptual metaphor in the Indian English database is 7 (the mapping type frequency is 6.19%). The number of systematic mappings in the American English database is 5 (the mapping type frequency is 3.82%). This suggests that the metaphor is more elaborate in the Indian English database. The number of linguistic expression types in both databases is 6. The type frequency in the Indian English database is 3.61%. In the American English database the type frequency is 2.19%. This indicates that the metaphor is somewhat more productive in the Indian context. A significantly higher number of metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database (94 metaphorical linguistic expressions/ the token frequency is 2.57%). 24 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 0.66%). Overall, understanding shame in terms of the PRISON source domain seems to be more salient in the Indian context. The metaphorical salience in the Indian English database is 12.37%. The metaphorical salience in the American English database is 6.67%.

SHAME IS A SHARP OBJECT

The meaning focus of the SHARP OBJECT source domain is that shame is a sharp tool that causes harm in the person, which is perceived as a negative experience. The linguistic expressions indicate slightly different systematic correspondences in the two databases.

The identified mappings in the Indian English database are the following:

The sharp object → the emotion
The pain caused by the sharp object → the pain caused by the emotion

Indian English

- I have forgotten everything -- the name of my teacher, the faces of my classmates -- but all these years later, I can still feel the *stinging shame* and rage at the unfairness of it all.

The identified mappings in the American English database are the following:

The sharp object → the emotion
The characteristics of the object (sharp) → the characteristics of the emotion (sharp)
What the sharp object does with X → what the emotion does with X

American English

- Then I noted that under it I had on pajamas, and was also wearing house slippers whose bent backs caused me a momentary *stab of shame*.
- My awe for the girl grew hard, a pit of *shame sharp* in my belly.
- *Shame pricks my eyes*, but I don't want to cry in front of her. I can cry all I want when I'm alone.
- *Shame hollows* his belly. He has to keep reminding himself that he's not one anymore.
- Even now, she feels the *sharp nettles of shame* that stung her face.
- We've all felt the hot *sting of shame* on our cheeks at one time or another.
- The man who is less *stung by shame* and pity and guilt has strength in his deadened feelings.

The number of systematic mappings in the Indian English database is 2 (the mapping type frequency is 1.77%). The number of systematic mappings in the American English database is 3 (the mapping type frequency is 2.29%). This suggests that the metaphor is more elaborate in the American English database. The number of the linguistic expression types in the Indian English database is only 1 (the type frequency is 0.6%), whereas it is 7 in the American English database (the type frequency is 2.55%). This indicates that the metaphor is significantly more productive in the American context. A significantly higher number of metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (10 metaphorical linguistic expressions/ the token frequency is 0.27%). Only 2 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 0.05%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the SHARP OBJECT source domain seems to be more salient in the American context. The salience of the metaphor in the American English database is 5.11%. The salience of the metaphor in the Indian English database is 2.42%.

SHAME IS AN UNDESIRABLE OBJECT

The SHAME IS AN UNDESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor is related to the SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT conceptual metaphor. There is a difference in the meaning focus of the two conceptual metaphors. The first highlights the evaluation aspect, whereas the second focuses on the existence aspect. In terms of UNDESIRABLE OBJECT source domain, shame is to *avoid*, to *abandon*, to *struggle with*, to *remedy* or to *manage* (American English data) as well as to *handle*, to *cope with* or to *inherit* (Indian English data).

The same systematic correspondences are identified in the Indian English and the American English corpora:

The undesirable object → the emotion

X's actions with the undesirable object → what X does with emotion

The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

Indian English

- If a father accidentally leaves his two-year-old son in the back of a scorching hot car, is it for the justice system to punish him or should it be enough that he has to *deal with* his own guilt and *shame*?
- Suicides have considerably increased in the past few years owing to cyberbullying as the victims are unable to *cope with* the public *shame* and depression.
- What explains the amnesia around the Chottu Ram laws that would have protected the tens of thousands of families who have seemed to only *inherit* suicides and *shame* -- while the more fortunate economically fallen flee the country on first class plane tickets? What ensures the new laws won't meet the same fate? Might we pause for an answer before we celebrate this old law in new garb?
- Needless to say, many teenagers are *struggling with* shame.

American English

- Help *coping with* their fears, nightmares, profound feelings of powerlessness; even, for some, their *shame*, the belief that they perhaps deserved what happened to them.
- Sharon *struggles with* her *shame* over the identity of the baby's father and her memories of its conception.
- While shame is more dominant in certain cultures, people in every culture *deal with shame*—that crippling sense of deficiency, worthlessness, and uncleanness.
- Revenge is an action taken against another in a hope to *remedy shame* and thus regain personal honor.
- To *avoid shame* in life, make sure that what you do at night is something you can be proud enough to do in the day time.
- Here, you will be encouraged to *abandon shame* and fear and work towards health and healing through a lens of positivity.
- The best thing you can do for your infant son to help him *manage shame* in the future is allow him to feel the comfort of eye contact gradually.

Two systematic correspondences are identified in the databases and, therefore, the elaboration of the conceptual metaphor is similar in the two contexts. There is a significant difference in the number of linguistic expression tokens identified in the databases, however. Over 290 metaphorical linguistic expressions are found in the American English database (the token frequency is 8.15%), while only 83 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 2.25%). The number of linguistic expressions is similarly higher in the American English database. Seven linguistic

expression types are detected in the American English database and 5 in the Indian English database. The type frequency in the former is 2.55%. The type frequency in the latter is 3.01%. This indicates that the UNDESIRABLE OBJECT source domain is more productive in the American understanding. The metaphor appears to be significantly more salient in the American context. In the American English database, the metaphorical salience is 12.23%. In the Indian English database, the metaphorical salience is 7.03%.

SHAME IS DARK

The SHAME IS DARK conceptual metaphor expresses the negative character of the emotion. The following mappings are identified in the databases:

The substance → the emotion
The characteristics of the substance (dark) → the characteristics of the emotion (dark)

Indian English

- May she be encouraged to serve the media, and common people like us, by taking us closer to the truth, when events cast *the shadow of shame* in our hearts.
- Is it possible to retrieve the graph after its hellish descent into the *dark vaults of shame*?

American English

- Anybody who's dipped into the history of women's health services in this country is familiar with the horror that women had to go through before suffrage made it an issue worth taking seriously and bringing out from the *shadows of shame*.
- Naked pictures aren't a *dark shame* that destroys your life.
- But as he released his grip on the body, as he dropped the knife and stood, the nova-like blast of freedom shrank back into itself and the blackness at its edges -- the *blackness of shame*, of self-disgust -- came sweeping down on him in a torrent ten-fold and it was horrible.
- I've had occasion to wonder whether emotions, the ones that come on strong and strange with little provocation, are rippling out from the past or latitudinally, the *black fog of shame* or longing or laughter floating around the atmosphere, catching in us briefly like ancestral whispering.
- Then disaster struck: They lost three straight games, eliminating themselves and causing Packer to flee the country in *a dark cloud of* grief and *shame*. People were shocked, but it was not that unusual.

The following additional mapping is identified in the Indian English database only:

Blacken the face of X (with shame) → to shame X

Indian English

- There is nothing left to say, 'Buri Nazar Waale Tera Muh Kaala', 'You who cast the evil eye, may you be publicly shamed,' *your face is blackened with shame*! To blacken one's face ("muh kaala karna") traditionally means to be publicly shamed.
- Khan has crossed all lines of decency through such derogatory remarks, he said. So we have come together to punish and shame him. We will not let him enter the boundaries of Delhi. If he does, we will *blacken his face*.

The DARK source domain is not unique to shame. It also underlies the conceptualization of other emotion concepts that are perceived as negative. At the same time, the expression *blacken X's face (with shame)* and the corresponding systematic mapping (*blacken the face – to shame X*) appears to be specific to the Indian context. This is an expression and a mapping not detected in the American English database. The mapping is referred to as the SHAME IS THE BLACKNESS OF THE FACE conceptual metaphor, a sub-metaphor of the SHAME IS DARK conceptual metaphor. According to Derrett (1977), *blacken one's face* is "a well-known expression throughout the Orient, (…) to the European it is difficult to understand" (p. 190). Derrett (ibid, p. 290) summarizes his findings about the expression in the following quote:

> 'He has blackened my face' means 'he has effectively slandered me, or has treated me in such a way that my prestige has fallen; he has, in effect, disgraced me'. 'My face has been blackened' means 'I have been disgraced'. This very ancient Asian idea goes back to a time when the words for the colours were few; the sallow skin turns ash-grey at the moment of realization of disgrace.

The number of systematic mappings in the Indian English database is 3 (the mapping type frequency is 2.65%). The number of systematic mappings in the American English database is 2 (the mapping type frequency is 1.53%). This suggests that the metaphor is slightly more elaborate in the Indian English database. The number of the linguistic expression types in the Indian English database is 3 (the type frequency is 1.8%), whereas it is 5 in the American English database (the type frequency is 1.82%). This indicates that the metaphor is somewhat more productive in the American context. 22 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 0.6%). A similar number of metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 0.56%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the DARK source domain seems to be more salient in the Indian context. The salience of the

metaphor in the Indian English database is 5.04%. The salience of the metaphor in the American English database is 3.95%. This metaphor is peripheral in both contexts.

SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE

The SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE conceptual metaphor is related to the SHAME IS A LIQUID, the SHAME IS A GAS, the SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE conceptual metaphors in the sense that they all present shame as a type of substance. The SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE conceptual metaphor is discussed in this metaphor group, however, because its meaning focus seems to center around the evaluation (and not simply the existence) of the emotion. In terms of this metaphor, shame *attaches to* people (Indian English and American English) and it is described as *clinging* (American English). The entity to which shame is attached can be perceived as a container. Similarly to other conceptual metaphors motivated by the CONTAINER image schema (e.g., THE SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER and the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER), the container is either the body of the person (without specific reference to particular body organs or body parts in either corpora) or an entity (e.g., *periods* in the Indian English or *diseases* in the American English databases). The conceptualization is motivated by the knowledge that particular substances get attached to the container and are hard to be removed.

The following three systematic correspondences appear in both databases:

The substance → the emotion
The container → the person/an entity (e.g., periods, mental illness) (X)
The substance attached to the container → the emotion attached to X

The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

Indian English

- Come to think about, even today I don't know the word for periods in Telugu, my mother tongue. I never knew I didn't know. The *shame* and stigma *attached to* menstruation was so much that code words were developed in our daily language to indicate that a girl had begun to menstruate. As far as I remember, when one began to menstruate, it was called to “to be outside”. If one had to inform sister or mom, one said, “I am outside” or “I have become outside” (I know it sounds funny in English).

American English

- Matt Kuntz, a mental-health advocate in Helena, considers the *shame attached to* mental illness for soldiers and veterans the major hurdle to individuals seeking care.

- But I also feel like the *shame sticks to* you *like tar*. It has taken her almost two decades to find a way of coping with her own notoriety.

The following systematic correspondences are not shared in the two databases:

Indian English
The substance not attached to the container → the emotion not attached to X

Indian English

- We wanted to bring something beautiful and feminine into a bra that is taboo... something that allows women undergoing a mastectomy to have something to be proud of, something *with no shame attached*.

American English
The characteristics of the substance → the characteristics of the emotion

American English

- A blessing in the lack of memories, but a curse in the shape of horrific nightmares, a dirty, *clinging shame* that never really leaves you.

The number of systematic mappings identified in the databases is 4. This suggests that the elaboration of this conceptual metaphor is similar in the two contexts. The mapping type frequency is 3.54% in the Indian English database, while it is 3.05% in the American English database. Twenty-nine metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database and 11 in the American English database. The token frequency in the former is 0.78%, in the latter it is 1.2%. There are 3 types of linguistic expressions identified in the American English database (the type frequency is 1.09%) and only 2 types of linguistic expressions identified in the Indian English database (the type frequency is 1.2%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the STICKY SUBSTANCE source domain does not seem to be salient in either context. The salience in the American English database is 4.44%, while it is 5.52% in the Indian English database. This metaphor is peripheral in both contexts.

6.1.3.2 The negative evaluation of shame (American English database only)

The POISON, the OBSTACLE and the MONSTER source domains are identified in the American English database only.

SHAME IS A POISON

The POISON source domain is similar to the DISEASE source domain in the sense that both depict the human body in an unhealthy state. The understanding in terms of the POISON source domain is even more negative because it makes shame appear as a lethal substance.

The following mappings are identified in the American English database:

The poison → the emotion
The person poisoned → the person in shame
The characteristics of the poison → the characteristics of the emotion

The corresponding linguistic expressions are listed below:

American English

- I turned quickly away, my face pounding with *shame* that felt *toxic*, as if it could poison the yard.
- I also understood that Arnold was responsible from the very beginning for my growing up in an atmosphere *poisoned with* guilt and *shame*.
- The *toxic shame* is when you're over shamed so that you feel deep down that there's something wrong with me, and so, you either try to be shameless - perfect, righteous, judgmental

Understanding SHAME in terms of the POISON conceptual metaphor appears to be peripheral. There are 3 mappings identified (mapping frequency is 2.29%) and as such the metaphor is not an elaborate one. 2 linguistic expression types and altogether 5 linguistic expressions are identified in the database. The type frequency is 0.73% and the token frequency is 0.14%. This suggests that the metaphor is not a productive one either. The salience of the metaphor in the database is 3.16%. This suggests that understanding SHAME in terms of the POISON source domain is rather peripheral in the American context.

SHAME IS AN OBSTACLE

In terms of the OBSTACLE source domain, shame is an emotion one has to get over. The following mappings are identified in the American English database:

The obstacle → the emotion
The obstacle impeding the person → the emotion impeding the person from doing things

The corresponding linguistic expressions are listed below:

American English

- Don't let *shame impede* your ability to deal with whatever happens.
- This sense of *shame hampers* our praise, inhibits our prayers, and prevents us from being able to worship God in spirit and truth.
- Many women on welfare never *get over* their *shame***.**

The person leaves the obstacle behind → the person overcomes the emotion

- He looks defiant, suddenly. He's *over* his *shame*, or he's pretending to be over it.

X breaks through the obstacle → X breaks through shame

- You've first got to *bust through the shame wall*. Everyone likes to think they're smart and have highbrow taste in comedy, but the truth is, none of us do.

The OBSTACLE source domain is not specific to shame as it applies to other emotions as well (e.g., *fear holds X back*. Four mapping types are identified (the mapping type frequency is 3.05%). Five metaphorical linguistic expression types and 17 metaphorical linguistic expressions are found. The type frequency is 1.82%. The token frequency is 0.74%. Overall, understanding shame in terms of this metaphor is neither productive nor salient in the American context. The salience of the metaphor is 4.92%.

SHAME IS A MONSTER

In terms of the SHAME IS A MONSTER conceptual metaphor, speakers of American English compare shame to creatures such as *gremlins* or *hobgoblins*. They use adjectives like *miasmic* when describing the emotion.

The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

- *Shame is the gremlin* who says you are not good enough - good in personal things like "you did not finish your BA", your father was not in Luxemburg, " -- the critic in these cases is always us
- *Shame is a hobgoblin* that only the soul can transform into something more appreciably human, and humane.
- One final note before we just start listing *monsters of shame*.
- I can only imagine the affronts, the ostracism, the cumulative abrasion of self-esteem, the *miasmic shame* and ever-present guilt that were their daily fare.

The identified systematic correspondences are listed below:

The monster → the shame
The characteristics of the monster → the characteristics of shame

Only 2 mappings are found (the mapping type frequency is 3.13%). This suggests that the metaphor is not an elaborate one. Four linguistic expression types and 5 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the database. The type frequency is 1.46%. The token frequency is 0.14%. This suggests that this metaphor is not productive. The salience of the metaphor is 3.13%. The numbers indicate that understanding shame in terms of the MONSTER source domain is peripheral in the American context.

6.1.3.3 The positive evaluation of shame

SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT

The DESIRABLE OBJECT source domain, similarly to the UNDESIRABLE OBJECT source domain, is related to the POSSESSED OBJECT source domain. The difference, again, is in the aspect of the understanding the source domains focus on. The POSSESSED OBJECT source domain highlights the existence of the emotion, whereas the DESIRABLE OBJECT source domain presents shame as a positive emotion one should possess. People who *have shame* are evaluated positively, whereas people who *do not have shame* are perceived negatively because they should have shame. The two metaphorical linguistic expression types (*have shame* and *have no shame*) appear in the Indian English and the American English corpora as well. The following examples illustrate this:

Indian English

- Expressing these views on Monday was Suman Datta, a leader of the ABVP, whose age has not been specified. He said that it was not possible to molest the girls of Jadavpur University, as they *have no shame*, and are kissing boys all day.
- I *have shame* and, therefore, I am not going to walk alone in that neighborhood without any of my classmates escorting.

American English

- If I *had shame*, I'd be embarrassed to admit I took a picture of my television so I could keep this priceless expression. But I don't, so I'm not.
- I would like to ask Mr. Trump, *have you no shame*, sir? You are running to be commander in chief, not thug in chief or intimidator in chief.
- My point is this: these people attack *without any shame* and they get away with it and it is effective for them.
- I don't want to think about what they do together, I'm sure he's giving her money and she *hasn't got any shame* about cheating an old man.

The analysis of the linguistic expressions shows the following systematic correspondences in the two databases:

The desirable object → the emotion
X is without the desirable object → X is without the emotion (negative)
X has the desirable object → X has the emotion (positive)

It is suggested that it is THE ABILITY TO PREVENT SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy that motivates the use of *shame* in these metaphorical linguistic expression types. The negative experiences with shame teach us that shameful experiences are to avoid. The ability people develop in order to prevent shame is conceptualized as the ability to possess shame. Shame, in terms of the DESIRABLE OBJECT source domain, is an entity one is desired to possess. In other words, one is desired to have the ability to prevent shame. Overall, it is possible to use the word *shame* as referring to the emotion (negative evaluation) and also as referring to the ability to avoid the emotion (positive evaluation). Both meanings are inherent in the understanding of SHAME. The positive meaning is based on the aforementioned THE ABILITY TO PREVENT SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, which underlies the SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor. I will return to this distinction in the next chapter, which discusses *lajja*, the Indian concept semantically related to SHAME.

Understanding the emotion in terms of the DESIRABLE OBJECT source domain seems to be specific to shame. This source domain expresses the social character of the emotion. It illustrates how shame is related to the concept of morality. People who have morals, follow the socially desired values and perform accepted forms of behavior are those who have the required amount of shame. People who do not have morals, do not follow the socially desired values and go against the norms are believed not to have shame. They are not afraid of going against the norms because they do not have shame that would signal to them what is acceptable and what is not. In this sense, not possessing shame is perceived as negative and the possession of shame is positive, hence, desirable.

Three systematic correspondences are identified in both databases and, therefore, the elaboration of the metaphor is considered similar in the two contexts. The mapping type frequency in the Indian English database is 2.65%. The mapping type frequency in the American English database is 2.29%. Two linguistic expression types are detected in the Indian English database and 3 are identified in the American English database. The type frequency in the Indian English database is 1.2%. The type frequency in the American English database is 1.09%. A significantly higher number of linguistic expressions (tokens) are found in the Indian English database. About 390 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database, whereas only 169 are detected in the American

English database. In the Indian English database, the token frequency is 10.67%. In the American English database, the token frequency is 4.64%. Overall, the understanding of SHAME in terms of the DESIRABLE OBJECT source domain is significantly more salient in the Indian context. The metaphorical salience is 14.52% in the Indian English database, while it is only 8.02% in the American English database.

6.1.4 The conceptual metaphors that highlight the visibility of shame

A central aspect in the understanding of SHAME is whether the emotion is visible or invisible to others. The conceptual metaphors that highlight this aspect are the following: SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE, SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER, SHAME IS EXPOSURE, and SHAME IS DIRT.

SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE

In the understanding of shame, not only the cause of the emotion is emphasized but also that others learn about the particular cause. In many cases, people feel shame because the cause of shame is visible to others and it cannot be kept a secret. The fact that shame is visible to others triggers the reaction that people would like to hide their shame (that is, the cause of their shame). This gives birth to the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE conceptual metaphor, which has roots in the CAUSE OF THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION conceptual metonymy.

As the following example borrowed from the American English database illustrates, a potential cause of shame in the American context is alcoholism, and the person hiding the shame caused by this disease in fact tries to hide the cause of the emotion itself:

American English

- As a person who used alcohol to *cover up shame*, only to create more shame, I can remember the hot flush of shame as it crawled over my body.

Similarly, a potential cause of shame in the Indian context is child marriage. The *hidden shame* in the following metaphorical linguistic expression from the Indian English database refers to the cause of the emotion:

Indian English

- Child brides continue to be Kerala's *secret shame*, despite its hugely applauded human development indices and other laurels.

The SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE conceptual metaphor is motivated by correlations in experience because it is based on our knowledge that hidden objects are not visible to others. The analysis of the linguistic expressions reveals the following systematic correspondences in both databases:

The substance → the shame
X covering the substance →X hiding shame

Indian English

- The experience made me *hide* a kind of *shame* that none of my peers could even empathize with.
- However, when I distort the truth to gain approval, impress people, avoid getting into trouble or to *cover shame*, I deceive myself in the process.

American English

- We are alone, and darkness comes to my aid, because it *covers the shame* written *on my face*.
- When we use our anger to *mask shame*, it can be hard for us to not dump our anger on others.
- It takes a lot of energy to *conceal shame* … by revealing shame and wearing our own 'mask' – perhaps we create space to develop more meaningful relationships.
- Mary had to *hide the shame* of her own miracle, the baby she was carrying.

As it is illustrated by the following linguistic expressions, invisibility can be a property of shame:

The characteristics of the substance → the characteristics of shame

Indian English

- The national shame of malnutrition is a politically institutionalised, *invisible shame* of long standing.

American English

- Recent developments in theory and method now provide a way of detecting *low-visibility shame*.

In terms of elaboration, this conceptual metaphor appears to be similar in the two contexts. Three mapping types are identified in both databases. The mapping type frequency is 2.65% in the Indian English database, while it is 2.29% in the American English database. The numbers of both the types and the tokens of the identified linguistic expressions are higher

in the American English database. Seven linguistic expression types are identified in the American English and 4 in the Indian English database. The type frequency is 2.55% in the American English database, while it is 2.4% in the Indian English database. The metaphor underlies 152 linguistic expressions in the American English database (the token frequency is 4.17%). It is detected in 66 metaphorical linguistic expressions of the Indian English database (the token frequency is 1.79%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the SUBSTANCE TO HIDE source domain appears to be more productive and more salient in the American context. The salience of the metaphor in the American English database is 9.01%, while it is 6.84% in the Indian English database.

SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER

The SHAME IS SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor is capable of expressing both the visibility and the invisibility of the emotion. In cases when it expresses the visibility of the emotion, the meaning focus of the SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER source domain is that the substance (shame) covers the container (the person) and, thus, the emotion is visible to others. The following metaphorical linguistic expressions illustrate this:

Indian English

- *Covered with shame*, she barely could walk back to the family house. She could not bear the thought of the neighbours finding out what happened.

American English

- Her family was *encased in shame*. She felt this more than she thought it. Everyone knew about it.
- She looked away, cheeks hot, *shame enfolding* her.

In this sense, the conceptual metaphor is based on the CONTAINER image schema. It is our knowledge about containers, namely that they are covered by substances and this is visible to us, which motivates the understanding. Besides correlations in experience, there are metaphorical linguistic expressions that illustrate similarity-based metaphorical conceptualizations. In the Indian English linguistic expression, *blanket of shame,* the emotion covers the person because it is perceived as being similar to a blanket. In the American English linguistic expression, *shame covers like a coat*, the emotion covers the person because it is perceived as being similar to a coat.

In cases when SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER source domain expresses the invisibility of the emotion, it is related to the SUBSTANCE TO HIDE source domain. In order to illustrate this, let us take a look at the following metaphorical linguistic expressions:

Indian English

- Sperm donation in India is *shrouded in* secrecy and *shame* -- of both the donor and his beneficiaries.
- These are just some of the many stories of the *clouds of* silence and *shame that blanket* the issue of rape and sexual subjugation.
- The fundamental problem is that parents have a hard time accepting their children as sexual beings. So, any talk of sexuality and sexual or gender identity is thwarted and *wrapped in shame*.
- The *veil of shame* around rape and other forms of sexual violence were not created by women, but by a culture that valorises sexual purity and celebrates violent masculinity as the norm.

American English

- I *cover* myself *in shame*, lust, and greed, smearing and hiding the humiliating marks of battle.
- Counting hungry students is hard because the issue is often *shrouded in shame*.

In these examples, there are various types of entities and concepts that are named as being covered by shame: the human body (I cover *myself* in shame – American English database), groups of people (*hungry students* - American English database) and particular phenomena (*sperm donation*, *sexuality*, *sexual violence* – Indian English database; *humiliation* - American English database). It appears that the entities and concepts that are covered by shame in these cases are in fact the causes of shame. In these cases, shame appears as a substance the main characteristic of which is that it is hidden (this understanding of the emotion is motivated by the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE conceptual metaphor), and it is capable of making the container it covers similarly invisible. In this sense, the meaning focus of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor is that the emotion and the cause of the emotion are invisible to others. The cause of shame and shame itself are not talked about, they are kept secrets or they are considered as taboos.

The following systematic correspondences are identified in the Indian English and American English databases:

The substance → the emotion
The container → X (the body/an entity (e.g., the country))
The substance covering the container → the emotion covering X

Further examples of these mappings are the following:

Indian English

- The climax of Devi's story, however, could have been handled better - the shock and *shame* which *envelops* all when an object of desire' un-veils' herself isn't achieved.

American English

- *Shame* was *wrapped around* her *heart*, and despite the fact that the scars were healing, she doubted that she'd ever be free again.
- I *cover* myself *in shame*, lust, and greed, smearing and hiding the humiliating marks of battle.
- Once *cloaked in shame* and silence, they had already begun to emerge, largely because of the efforts of one person: a San Francisco-based activist named Cheryl Chase.
- *Shame envelopes* us for various reasons whether it has been birthed out of hurt, neglect, abuse or past failure.
- That *shame covered* me *like a coat*, it kept me warm.

As 3 types of mappings are identified in both databases, the elaboration of this conceptual metaphor appears to be similar in the two contexts. The mapping type frequency is 2.65% in the Indian English database, whereas it is 2.29% in the American English database. The number of linguistic expression types is also similar. Seven metaphorical linguistic expression types are identified in the Indian English and the American English databases. There is no significant difference in the productivity of this conceptual metaphor in the two contexts. The type frequency in the Indian English database is 4.2% and the type frequency in the American English database is 2.55%. The number of actual linguistic expressions (tokens) is higher in the Indian English database (the number of tokens is 200). In the American English database, 136 linguistic expressions are identified. The token frequency in the Indian English database is 5.42%. The token frequency in the American English database is 3.73%. Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of this conceptual metaphor appears to be more salient in the Indian context. The salience in the Indian English database is 12.27%, while it is 8.57% in the American English database.

SHAME IS EXPOSURE

The feeling of exposure is central in the shame experience. As Lewis (1992) explains, shame "leads to a sense of being exposed and an urge to withdraw from the social environment" (p. 3). As discussed in Section 3.1, a potential cause of shame is not necessarily an improper act or trait but the fact that others know about it. Others function as

a moral authority. If the shame of the person is revealed, the person is vulnerably exposed to the judgment of others, which enhances the person's negative experience with shame.

Exposure in the shame experience appears in two ways. First, people aim to avoid exposure in order to ease the negative experience with shame. In order to ease the negative experience, they perform various forms of behavior: They cut eye contact with others or escape the scene. As an attempt to prevent exposure, people tend to hide both the cause and the existence of their shame. In this sense, the concept of exposure backgrounds some of the metaphorical conceptualizations of shame already mentioned (SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE) and also metonymical conceptualizations yet to discuss in the next section (LOSS OF EYE CONTACT STANDS FOR SHAME and WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME).

Second, there are cases when the person's shame is intentionally exposed to others. The linguistic expressions discussed in the frame of the SHAME IS EXPOSURE conceptual metaphor illustrate this understanding. The linguistic expressions imply the following three scenarios:

(1) Y intentionally makes X's shame visible, hence, exposing X to others

This scenario is depicted in metaphorical linguistic expressions in which the individual's shame is intentionally made visible to others by someone else. Examples are found in the Indian English and American English databases. Among others, the *name and shame* and the *Y hangs X on the wall of shame* linguistic expressions are identified in both corpora. Further examples in the Indian English database are *Y stigmatizes X, Y marks X with shame* and *puppy shame*[23]. The latter is an expression unique to Indian English. Additional examples in the American English database are *Y makes X do the walk of shame, Y puts X to public shame* and *Y puts X on the Facebook shame wall*. The corresponding linguistic examples are listed below:

Indian English

- The department, while taking every measure to reach out to a taxpayer who has not paid his taxes, will also *name and shame* such people who blatantly violate the law.
- The *'wall of shame'* is a novel method planned by Nadia district administration and gram panchayats in which names and photographs of those who defecate in the open would be pasted on a village wall. Once identified, they would be put on the wall in the village to shame them.

[23] The expression "puppy shame" comes from an Indian rhyme that is told to children as a means of shaming as a nursing method (Shah, 2016).

- Using all the abuses she can hurl, she adds insult to injury by plastering the hapless offenders with black paint, *marking them with the shame* of having dared to anger their mistress.
- Reservation and caste are delicate issues that most political scientists have not touched upon. However, Dr Gudavarthy raised and answered the question of "How can we de-*stigmatize* caste and reservation?" By quoting Ambedkar's words: "I was born a Hindu … but will not die a Hindu."
- It was a swell opportunity for morally upright people to be outraged and to *puppy shame* the institute and the proposers of the draconian measures. My social circles were abuzz with unequivocal cries calling for justice for all, punishment for the wrongdoers, and a judgment that some will not or can not change.
- I know that this type of *public shaming* of people for their external appearance is very real and in this age of internet it has become very regular incident.

American English

- I love how their tactic is to *name and shame*, as if countries like China would react to that.
- George returns home to find that a warrant for his arrest awaits him, as do reporters poised to *publicize* his *shame*.
- So women's advocates have banded together to *publicly shame* the batterer.
- You might remember Winfrey *publicly shamed* Frey on her TV show when the author was *exposed* for fabricating large parts of his memoir.
- But we're just as stupid because we keep putting them in office to waste more and more. It wouldn't look good for certain people to *put* this company *on the wall of shame*.
- Thousands took to a *Facebook shame wall* to criticize the woman they believe is responsible.
- Secondly, girls aren't the only ones who are made *do the walk of shame*, yet I would be willing to bet that far fewer boys are publicly humiliated by it.

(2) X uncovers X's shame

This scenario is depicted in metaphorical linguistic expressions in which individuals make their shame visible to others. Metaphorical linguistic expressions for this scenario are detected in the American English database only. They are, among others, *uncover shame*, *evince shame*, *reveal shame* or *X shows shame to Y*. The linguistic expressions are listed below:

- Your nakedness will be *exposed* and your *shame uncovered*.
- At the same time, it *evinces shame* as her father catches her at that moment.

- In all honesty, we have to be able to be honest about concealing shame without having to *reveal shame*. I have a friend with a child who has long been suicidal.
- A week later she moved a bed into the sunroom and she's been there ever since, *showing* my *shame to* the neighbors.

(3) Neutral descriptions about the visibility of shame to others

There are linguistic expressions in both databases that describe one's shame as it is visible to others. These are "neutral" descriptions in the sense that they are not specific about who makes shame visible. They simply refer to the visibility of shame. Corresponding linguistic expressions are *stigma*, a *mark of shame*, a *badge of shame* or *naked with shame*. The corresponding linguistic expressions are listed below:

Indian English

- If found guilty, they will be removed from service - a dishonourable exit for anyone in khaki, and a *mark of shame* for the Mumbai Police.
- Terming the prevailing caste system as a *badge of shame*, the Social Justice Ministry has recommended human rights education at various levels including civil services and other central service training institutions to get rid of caste-based discrimination.
- Naked with no shame vs. *naked with shame* and hiding. If you think about it, what makes us (specially as women) feel like we need to hide?

American English

- Specifically, the *stigma* associated with being an informant is what makes "snitch" and "rat" ... This is not only a *shame*, but also exposure and a societal detriment.
- I had no idea that my walking a student home was a *mark of shame* in the others' eyes. Most people would see it as a sign of regard.
- The inverted pink triangle, originally intended as a *badge of shame*, has become an international symbol of gay pride and the gay rights movement, and is second in popularity only to the rainbow flag.
- And she stood, shaking, alone, teary eyes dropped to the ground, *naked with* her *shame*. She was surrounded by her religious accusers, some filled with their own lustful fantasies of what a night with her would have been like. She was surrounded by a gawking crowd, paused for a moment of entertainment, mocking the woman. She stood alone, her supposed lover nowhere to be seen.

Overall, the linguistic expressions refer to the following mappings of the SHAME IS EXPOSURE conceptual metaphor:

Being in shame/shamed → being exposed to others/the public
Methods of Y shaming X → methods of Y making X exposed to others/the public
The signs of being in shame/shamed → the signs of being exposed to others/the public

The following mapping is detected in the American English database only:

Methods of X revealing X's shame → methods of X exposing X to others/the public

It is noticeable that several of the linguistic expressions of the SHAME IS EXPOSURE conceptual metaphor illustrate that the EXPOSURE source domain has a metonymic basis. For example, the expression *name and shame* is based on the following metonymic relations:

THE NAME STANDS FOR THE PERSON
KNOWING ONE'S NAME STANDS FOR KNOWING THE PERSON
NAMING THE PERSON STANDS FOR INTRODUCING (HIGHLIGHTING) THE PERSON (TO THE PUBLIC)
NAMING STANDS FOR EXPOSING
SHAME IS EXPOSURE

The understanding in terms of EXPOSURE is likely to be specific to shame and, according to Holland and Kipnis (1994, 1995), to embarrassment. The meaning focus of the metaphor is the visibility of the emotion to others. Three mappings are identified in the Indian English database (the mapping type frequency is 2.65%). Four mappings are identified in the American English database (the mapping type frequency is 3.05%). This suggests that the metaphor is somewhat more elaborate in the American context. About the same number of linguistic expressions is identified as being motivated by this conceptual metaphor. 140 Indian English metaphorical linguistic expressions and 130 American English metaphorical linguistic expressions are found. The token frequency in the Indian English database is 3.79%, while it is 3.57% in the American English database. 14 linguistic expression types are identified in the American English database and only 9 in the Indian English database. This suggests that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. Overall, understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metaphor is slightly more salient in the Indian context. The salience of the metaphor is 11.72% in the American English database. The salience of the metaphor is 11.84% in the Indian English database.

SHAME IS DIRT

The concept of shame and dirt are inherently related. As Shweder (2003) puts it, "a person feels shame, according to his account, when they are made to feel degraded, *dirty* or impure in the attention of the others, which can happen in many ways" (p. 1115). As this explanation indicates, the understanding of shame in terms of the DIRT source domain

presents the emotion as visible to others. Both the Indian English and the American English databases give linguistic examples of the SHAME IS DIRT conceptual metaphor:

Indian English

- The mere mention of Balochistan in a joint statement issued on July 16, 2009, by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan was enough to unleash a vitriolic attack by the BJP on Dr Manmohan Singh. Sample: "the waters of the seven seas will not be able to *wash the shame*."
- State media outlets, giving the deaths broad coverage, have joined in the hand-wringing. This is a *shame* that can not be *washed away by* a civilized society.
- I emphasize that the problem is not the existence of discrete and surreptitious religious bigotry -- the problem is the fact that this religious bigotry is rationalized, and legitimated; it is *cleansed* of all sense *of shame* or fault and then stated as a normative value: the truth that needs to be uncovered.
- "Would you allow your wife and daughters to go to temple during periods?" "Even if I allow, they won't go …the tradition has gone deep into their psyche. And they develop a sort of a guilty and *shameful feeling* if they go against the tradition. The restrictions are imposed by the older generations for female members of the family. This is how the myths and beliefs are passed from one generation to the other .... spiritual dirt - women's aura is *dirty* in this period."
- He added that it's a *dirty shame* that things like this end up in the news, 'cause there's something going around the country and it's anti-police.
- Farmer suicides are a blood red *stain of shame* on the democratic pretentions of the Indian government that is duty bound and legally required to act on behalf of the men, women and children being marginalized in rural areas, many who have farmed the land for generations, and are now unable to compete against the machinery of economic fundamentalism that is crushing them totally.
- Grateful to have such parents and feels so safe, secure and sound to have such a father. Any difficult situation or trouble I am in, whether or not anybody comes in rescue, I know for sure that he will be there. Father, Father, you are my strength. Never ever will you be *stained by shame*.

American English

- His freedom will not wipe *clean the shame* of Sweden and the US/UK axis combining to flout international law.
- The aim of all this work is to *purge the shame* I have swallowed throughout my life and give credence to the unburdened.
- This year we have two presidential candidates who admit – or at least can't deny – wearing a *stain of shame* from past mistakes.
- In the the earlier days intercourse was nothing but some thing *filthy and shameful*.

- Who will take my part? *Soap away the shame*? Suds it till it falls away muck at my feet to be stepped out of?
- And as this *filthy shame* is going down, the Clintons and the Obamas (who possess the power and podium to really help us) and everyone of this administration and friends who have inspired and underwritten the violence in every currency - sit on their hands in silent approval.
- According to your father she was too young to be *stained by shame*.
- And it *is a dirty shame* that the people have taken SO LONG to identify the fact that the Democrat Party has become the Castro of the U.S.A.

It is suggested that the DIRT source domain is potentially unique to the understanding of shame. A possible explanation to this is that the concept of shame is linked to the concept of morality. It is the MORAL/ETHICAL IS CLEAN and the AMORAL/UNETHICAL IS UNCLEAN conceptual metaphors that make SHAME and MORALITY linked (Lakoff, 2008b). Shame comes as a result of an amoral deed and, thus, SHAME and AMORALITY are linked. Amorality is linked to being unclean and, hence, the relationship between SHAME and DIRT.

The following mappings are identified in the two databases:

The dirt → the emotion
Cleaning the dirt → cleaning X from the emotion
The signs of the dirt → the signs of the emotion

The following mappings are identified in the Indian English database only:

Washing away the dirt → washing away shame

The number of systematic mappings of the SHAME IS DIRT conceptual metaphor in the Indian English database is 4 (the mapping type frequency is 3.54%). The number of systematic mappings in the American English database is 3 (the mapping type frequency is 2.29%). This suggests that the metaphor is slightly more elaborate in the Indian English database. The number of the linguistic expressions types in the Indian English database is 6 (the type frequency is 3.61%), whereas it is 7 in the American English database (the type frequency is 2.55%). This indicates that the metaphor is somewhat more productive in the American context. Over 90 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 2.57%). 60 metaphorical linguistic expressions are found in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 1.65%). Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the DIRT source domain seems to be more salient in the Indian context. The salience of the metaphor in the Indian English database is 9.72%. The salience of the metaphor in the American English database is 6.49%.

The higher salience of the DIRT source domain in the Indian database is potentially related to the salience of concepts of dirt, pollution and purity in Indian culture. As Sethi and Dubé explain (1982), "cultural practices such as ceremonial dips in sacred rivers and prolonged mourning rituals, which have a wide social acceptance, do much to 'wash' away feelings of sin and guilt" (p. 104). As Sanford (2013) argues, the patriarchal character of society is also linked to the concept of dirt in the sense that "males are inherently more pure than females" and, therefore, certain acts related to women are inherently impure (p. 89). As will be discussed in Section 6.3, periods are related to DIRT and they are referred to a potential cause of shame in the Indian English database.

6.1.5 The conceptual metaphors that highlights the intensity of the emotion

SHAME IS HEAT (FIRE AND LIGHT)

The metaphorical understanding of SHAME in terms of the HEAT source domain typically depicts scenarios in which the emotion appears in intense forms. Although it highlights other aspects central in the conceptualization of shame (e.g. the visibility aspect) as well, it is the conceptual metaphor of SHAME that seems to have the most focus on the intensity of the emotion.

The SHAME IS HEAT is a correlation-based metaphor. The basis of the metaphorical source domain is a metonymical relation (EFFECT FOR CAUSE). As discussed in Chapter 2, it is possible to interpret particular figurative linguistic expressions related to HEAT as either metonymical or metaphorical. For instance, the linguistic expression *flush with shame* is an example of either the INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy or the SHAME IS HEAT conceptual metaphor. The linguistic expression is metonymical if HEAT is considered as part of the SHAME domain. In this case, an element of the domain (PHYSIOLOGICAL REACTION) metonymically stands for the whole domain (SHAME). The linguistic expression is metaphorical if HEAT and SHAME are considered as two separate domains coming from two unrelated domains. Kövecses (2013) claims that the metonymical relationship between HEAT and SHAME is a "stage" through which "one of the elements of a frame-like structure is generalized (schematized) to a concept that lies outside the initial frame in a different part of the conceptual system" (p. 75). That is, heat as a physiological reaction to shame can be generalized to HEAT (a general concept), which is independent of the SHAME domain. This way the concepts HEAT and SHAME are from two different domains and, as such, the correspondence between them is metaphorical.

A similar interpretation is possible in the case of several other HEAT-related linguistic expressions that are identified in the corpora. Subjectivity in deciding which linguistic

expressions are grouped as metonymical and which are grouped as metaphorical is inevitable. The approach in the dissertation is that the linguistic expressions in which heat clearly appears as a physiological response to shame are considered metonymical. Heat, in these cases, is caused by the emotion and, therefore, HEAT is an element of the SHAME domain. The linguistic expressions that refer to heat in terms of domains related to the generalized concept of heat (these domains are FIRE and LIGHT) are considered metaphorical. It is argued that FIRE and LIGHT are not elements of the SHAME domain and, therefore, the conceptualization of the emotion in terms of these is metaphorical. The metaphorical linguistic expressions of the HEAT, the FIRE and the LIGHT source domains are discussed in the frame of the SHAME IS HEAT conceptual metaphor. The three source domains are clearly distinguished in the analysis but, statistically, the metaphorical linguistic expressions they underlie are regarded as examples of the SHAME IS HEAT conceptual metaphor. On the one hand, this is because it is hard to clearly distinguish the three source domains as they are inherently related. In Kövecses's (2011) words, "the properties of fire include that it gives out light and it can provide (heat) energy" (p. 344). On the other hand, the three source domains have the same general meaning focus, that is, to show what shame as heat does to the person.

The FIRE and the LIGHT source domains are detected in both databases. It is suggested that the FIRE source domain appears in the conceptualization in case more intense forms of shame are expressed[24]. This is in line with Kövecses (2010, pp. 140-114) who argues that the EMOTION IS HEAT (OF FIRE) is a complex metaphor built on the INTENSITY IS HEAT (OF FIRE) simple metaphor. A person's face is not simply *hot with shame* (which is a metonymical linguistic expression motivated by the INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy) but it *burns with shame* (which is a metaphorical linguistic expression motivated by the SHAME IS FIRE metonymy-based conceptual metaphor). The corresponding linguistic expressions of the FIRE source domain are the following:

Indian English

- When people look back on the lives they have lived and concentrate on failures and mistakes they have committed, the wrong roads they have taken, it is then that *shame burns* them and they feel they have done little or nothing with the time they were given.
- What I have seen in my village makes *me burn with shame*. I never, never want to go back there.
- Let the *flames of shame* be spread around and start a wild fire!
- Now, in 2008, after 28 years, your *face burns with shame* and you hear the scornful laughter of The Mogambo ringing in your ears.

[24] This is in line with Kövecses (2010, pp. 140-114) who argues that the EMOTION IS HEAT (OF FIRE) is a complex metaphor built on the INTENSITY IS HEAT (OF FIRE) simple metaphor.

- *Shame burns upon* me, the greatest sinner with utter foolishness and impudence, who became a fire-brand without giving thought to that Seetha and became hurtful to my master.

American English

- *Shame flares up* my spine thinking about how stupid I was back then.
- How do you know when it's lost? *Shame burns you* right *down to the soles of your feet*.
- He feels his *face on fire with shame* and struggles to keep his expression hard as stone.
- A rape victim experiences *burning shame* which leads to self mutilation when a policeman gets angry and disgusted.
- I felt a *scorch of shame* at my own surprise.
- The *shame burns my skin* and I don't trust myself to stay calm around her. My grief is mine. I don't want to share it.
- I was just a kid but I felt *shame burning me up*. Shame that my father had left. Shame that he had killed himself.
- Gracious Father, my *heart burns with shame* when I think how much I claim, and how little I am.
- The woman apologized as Arthur resettled in his seat, somehow managing to *burn red with shame* and seem even paler at the same time.
- I could feel the *shame burning my cheeks* just as I could sense the blame clouding my questioner's compassion.
- My *face burns with shame* that the Columbia community is even debating this! Keep ROTC & discrimination off the Columbia campus.
- I *flame with shame* for my American citizenship when I read the evidence and then the findings of the Board of Inquiry.
- I can imagine her *steaming breasts red with* heat and *shame*.
- He *stewed* each day *in shame* that did not even belong to him.
- Put her next to the shrimp brains in the White House and they would *melt in shame*. Where do we get such women?

Compared to the FIRE source domain, the understanding in terms of the LIGHT source domain is more peripheral in both databases. It is suggested that the LIGHT source domain, besides the intensity aspect, further highlights the visibility aspect of the conceptualization of shame in the sense that the light of shame, as a result of the increase of the body heat, makes the emotion noticeable. The corresponding linguistic expressions of the LIGHT source domain are the following:

Indian English

- The time has come when badges of honour make our *shame glaring* in the incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part, wish to stand, shorn, of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so called insignificance, are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings.
- When, however, the train went on, the dull rays of the setting sun, at the west of the fields, now ploughed up and stripped of green, seemed in his eyes *to spread a glow of shame* over the whole country.

American English

- Her words and her apologies cut him to the quick; I might have even detected a *glimmer of shame*.
- The image of that moment crosses my mind at least once a month, accompanied by a sharp *flash of shame* – a manifestation of conscience.
- When we went to dinner and the bill came, it would sit in the center of the table and *radiate shame*.

The following systematic correspondences of the SHAME IS HEAT (FIRE and LIGHT) conceptual metaphor are shared in the two databases:

The fire → the emotion
The intensity of the fire → the intensity of the emotion
The actions of the fire → what the emotion does
The light → the emotion
The light flashing/glimmering → the emotion of the person visible to others

The below mappings are detected in the American English database only:

The characteristics of the fire → the characteristics of shame
Ceasing to exist because of the (heat of) the fire → ceasing to exist because of (the intensity of) shame
The person radiating light → the person radiating shame

Whereas the number of systematic correspondences identified in the American English database is 8, the number of mappings in the Indian English database is only 5. This indicates that the SHAME IS HEAT conceptual metaphor is more elaborate in the American context. The mapping type frequency in the American English database is 6.1%. The mapping type frequency in the Indian English database is 4.42%. The number of linguistic expression types is significantly higher in the American English database. There are 18 linguistic expression types in the American English database and 7 in the Indian English database. This suggests that the metaphor is more productive in the American context. The

type frequency in the American English database is 6.57%. The type frequency in the Indian English database is 4.21%. About 100 metaphorical linguistic expressions are identified in the American English database (the token frequency is 2.77%) and only 70 in the Indian English database (the token frequency is 1.89%) Overall, understanding SHAME in terms of the HEAT (FIRE and LIGHT) conceptual metaphor is significantly more salient in the American context. The salience of the metaphor is 15.44% in the American English database, whereas it is only 10.52% in the Indian English database.

6.1.6 The salience of conceptual metaphors

Table 4 and *Table 5* list the conceptual metaphors identified in the Indian English and the American English corpora respectively in the order of their salience.

Table 4: The salience of conceptual metaphors in the Indian English corpora

Indian English	Conceptual metaphors	Salience (%)
1.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER	25.69
2.	SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT	23.26
3.	SHAME IS AN OPPONENT	18.84
4.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER	17.06
5.	BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE	15.68
6.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ON THE CONTAINER	14.94
7.	SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT	14.52
8.	SHAME IS A BURDEN	14.02
9.	SHAME IS A PRISON	12.37
10.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER	12.27
11.	SHAME IS EXPOSURE	11.84
12.	SHAME IS A DISEASE	11.24
13.	SHAME IS HEAT	10.52
14.	SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE	10.23
15.	SHAME IS DIRT	9.72
16.	SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE	8.29
17.	SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	8.28
18.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE (LIQUID)	7.69
19.	SHAME IS AN UNDESIRABLE OBJECT	7.03
20.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE	6.84
21.	SHAME IS A TOOL	6.69
22.	SHAME IS A FORCE	6.59
23.	SHAME IS A LIVING ORGANISM	5.92
24.	SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE	5.52
25.	SHAME IS DARK	5.04
26.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE (GAS)	2.45
27.	SHAME IS A SHARP OBJECT	2.42
28.	SHAME IS A HIDDEN ENEMY	2.4
29.	SHAME IS A WILD ANIMAL	2.4

Table 5: The salience of conceptual metaphors in the American English corpus

American English	Conceptual metaphors	Salience (%)
1.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER	29.42
2.	SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT	21.64
3.	SHAME IS AN OPPONENT	20.39
4.	SHAME IS HEAT	15.44
5.	BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE	15.39
6.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER	14.57
7.	SHAME IS A BURDEN	14.37
8.	SHAME IS A DISEASE	13.41
9.	SHAME IS AN UNDESIRABLE OBJECT	12.23
10.	SHAME IS EXPOSURE	11.72
11.	SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE	10.98
12.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER	9.88
13.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE	9.01
14.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER	8.57
15.	SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE	8.4
16.	SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT	8.02
17.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE (LIQUID)	7.75
18.	SHAME IS A FORCE	6.82
19.	SHAME IS A PRISON	6.67
20.	SHAME IS DIRT	6.49
21.	SHAME IS A LIVING ORGANISM	5.74
22.	SHAME IS A SHARP OBJECT	5.11
23.	SHAME IS AN OBSTACLE	4.92
24.	SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	4.63
25.	SHAME IS A HIDDEN ENEMY	4.56
26.	SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE	4.44
27.	SHAME IS DARK	3.95
28.	SHAME IS A WILD ANIMAL	3.49
29.	SHAME IS A TOOL	3.25
30.	SHAME IS A POISON	3.16
31.	SHAME IS A MONSTER	3.13
32.	SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE (GAS)	1.94

6.1.7 Discussion of findings

What does all this data tell us about the metaphorical understanding of shame? First of all, the number of metaphorical source domains identified in databases indicates that the metaphorical conceptualization of SHAME is colorful in both the Indian and the American contexts. Just to name a few: Shame is an *object* people *have* (SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT), it is an *object* people are expected *to have* (SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT), it is an object people want *to avoid* (SHAME IS AN UNDESIRABLE OBJECT), it is an *enemy* against which people *fight* (SHAME IS AN OPPONENT), it is a *force* that *washes over* people like *tsunamis* do (SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE), it *haunts* people (SHAME IS A HIDDEN ENEMY), it *governs* people (SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR), it is *dirty* and its *stain* has to *be washed*

(SHAME IS DIRT), it is difficult to *escape* (SHAME IS A PRISON), it appears as *mixed* with other feeling states (SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE), and it it is *used* as a *tool* of *punishment* (SHAME IS A TOOL).

These are forms of understanding the two contexts share. Some of them are central in the conceptualization of the emotion, while others are peripheral. The overall, and most important, finding the data suggests is that the body and the context have a simultaneous role in the metaphorical understanding of shame. Shame is a liquid that is *located in the body* (SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER), it is a substance that *covers the surface of the body* (SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER/SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER), it is a substance that is *brought* by someone *onto the surface of the body* (SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER), it causes people *pain* and *suffering* (*in the body*) (SHAME IS A DISEASE), it *weighs* people (i.e., the bodies of people) *down* (SHAME IS A BURDEN), and it makes people (i.e., the bodies of people) *exposed* (SHAME IS EXPOSURE). The role of the body is inherent in most of the conceptual metaphors identified in the databases. The (conscious and unconscious) bodily experiences with shame are at the core of the metaphorical conceptualization of the concept. The effect of the context is detectable in (1) the details of conceptualization motivated by the source domains, as well as in (2) the salience of conceptual metaphors in the two contexts. That is, in which conceptual metaphors are profiled and which are peripheral.

If we consider the findings about salience, the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, the SHAME IS AN OPPONENT, and the SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT conceptual metaphors are the most central in both databases. That is, the most central metaphorical understanding of SHAME in both contexts is that shame exists inside the person, it is possessed (or not possessed) and it behaves as a particular type of force affecting the person. Further outstanding conceptual metaphors are, for instance, the SHAME IS AN OPPONENT or the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ON THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphors.

If we consider the details of conceptualization motivated by these we find interesting differences in the two databases. As for the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor, the linguistic data in the Indian English corpora tends to refer to scenarios where a person brings shame to another person with inappropriate behavior. This suggests that the metaphorical conception of SHAME, in the Indian context, depicts the emotion as a public concept. In the American English database, however, linguistic data rather refer to scenarios where the external cause of shame brings shame to the person, who, as a result, is in a state of shame. In the American understanding, it is one's own physical reactions that are highlighted in the metaphorical conceptualization. This is in contrast with the Indian understanding, where the social effects of shame are more emphasized. Furthermore, the metaphorical linguistic expressions of the SHAME IS A

SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor both refer to positive and negative conceptions of shame in the Indian English database. People *have shame* and *shame lives in* them in order to help appropriate forms of behavior and living. The positive interpretation of shame in the linguistic expressions of the CONTAINER source domain is not detected in the American English database.

Such differences in the details of metaphorical understanding make one assume that the positive evaluation of the emotion is more prevalent in the Indian context. The salience of further conceptual metaphors, i.e., that of the SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT, indicates that this is indeed the case. While the SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor is the 7th in salience in the Indian English database, it is only the 16th in salience in the American English database. It is suggested that this finding reflects the sociocultural features of the Indian context. In order to enhance the conformity of individuals to social norms, traditions, and expectations, it is anticipated that they have shame (as a positive value) in order to avoid shame (as a negative experience).

In the American English database, physiology-based conceptualization seems to be in the center. This is indicated by the finding that the SHAME IS HEAT conceptual metaphor has an outstanding salience. It is 4th in salience in the American English database, whereas it is only the 13th in the Indian English database. Furthermore, the concept of heat, in the American English database, appears as part of the understanding in terms of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor as well. The concept of heat is not part of Indian conceptualizations motivated by the CONTAINER source domain. It is suggested that physiology-based conceptualization motivates forms of understanding from the perspective of the individual. The dominance of physiology-based conceptualization in the American English data again indicates that shame, in the American context, is more an individualized, private experience.

The more individualized nature of shame in the American context is further suggested by the following findings. It is the negative evaluation of shame that clearly dominates the American English database. It is suggested that this is because emphasis is placed on the disadvantages of shame as an individual experience. Several of the source domains (e.g., BURDEN, DISEASE, EXPOSURE) that are outstanding in salience in the American English corpus depict shame negatively. In terms of the BURDEN source domain, shame is *heavy* and people *are crushed under the weight* of it. In terms of the DISEASE source domain, shame *hurts*, it has *symptoms* and the *pain* it causes has to be *endured*. In terms of the EXPOSURE source domain, people are vulnerable to the judgments of others. In addition, all the conceptual metaphors that are identified in the American English database but not in the Indian English database (MONSTER, POISON, OBSTACLE) carry a negative perception. In terms of the MONSTER source domain, shame is *miasmic*. In terms of the POISON source

domain, shame is *toxic*. In terms of the OBSTACLE source domain, shame *impedes* and *hampers* people. In the Indian English database, both the positive and negative evaluations of shame are dominant. This suggests that an equal emphasis is placed on the positive and on the negative sides of shame.

6.1.8 Summary

This chapter aimed to explore the metaphorical understanding of shame. The manual analysis of a relatively large amount of linguistic data lead to the identification of 29 conceptual metaphors of SHAME in the Indian English database and 32 conceptual metaphors of SHAME in the American English database.

In order to provide a transparent analysis, the identified metaphorical source domains were categorized according to what "meaning foci" (main themes) they intend to express (Kövecses, 2003, p. 82). The main themes of the conceptual metaphors are linked to the aspects of understanding the metaphorical source domains profile. Six aspects were identified as outstanding in the metaphorical understanding of SHAME: existence, control, evaluation, visibility, and intensity. The existence aspect expresses the existence or nonexistence of emotions. The control aspect expresses the forceful character of shame. The evaluation aspect provides information on whether shame is perceived positively or negatively. The visibility aspect tells us that shame is an emotion that should either be expressed openly or stay hidden. The intensity aspect refers to whether the feeling state of shame is of higher or lower intensity.

There is an extensive overlap in source domains speakers of Indian English and American English use in expressing shame in metaphorical language. The body has a basic role in the metaphorical understanding of shame in the two contexts. Difference is detected in the details of particular metaphorical conceptualizations, as well as in which source domains are profiled in the two contexts. The salience of particular conceptual metaphors appears to reflect sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts. The findings illustrate alternative forms of metaphorical conceptualization. Although there are a handful of conceptual metaphors that are detected in the American English database only (e.g., poison, obstacle, monster source domains), they are not believed to be examples of unique metaphorical conceptualization. This is because there is no reason to believe that these source domains are specific to either the conceptualization of shame (it is possible that they motivate the understanding of other concepts as well) or to the American context. Rather, they seem to underscore the finding that the evaluation of shame in the American context is considerably negative.

6.2 Conceptual metonymies of SHAME

The second section of Chapter 6 discusses the metonymical conceptualization of SHAME. It presents the analysis of the metonymical linguistic expressions of *shame* collected from the Indian English and the American English corpora. Two main conceptual metonymy types are identified: the EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME and the CAUSE OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymies. While the former typically depicts the physiological, physical and the behavioral responses triggered by the emotion, the latter denotes types of shame that are triggered by different causes. This section is divided to three parts. First, the conceptual metonymies identified in both databases are discussed. Second, the conceptual metonymies detected in either the American English or the Indian English corpora are addressed. The third part compares the findings in the two language varieties.

In the discussion, the focus is on the productivity, the frequency and the salience of the conceptual metonymies. As discussed in Chapter 5, the elaboration of conceptual metonymies cannot be measured because the systematic correspondences of conceptual metonymies are fixed (the mapping is always 1). Chapter 5 discusses the modified version of MIP that is applied in the identification of metonymical linguistic expressions. It also introduces the methodology of calculating the salience of conceptual metonymies. In the discussion, the identified conceptual metonymies are illustrated with metonymical linguistic expressions borrowed from the corpora. In the analysis of conceptual metonymies, each identified metonymical linguistic expression type is illustrated with one linguistic example. A summary of the salience of the identified conceptual metonymies of shame in two databases is provided in the Appendix (Table 18 and Table 19).

6.2.1 The metonymical understanding of SHAME in Indian English and in American English

Overall, 10 conceptual metonymies of SHAME are identified in the Indian English database and 14 in the American English database. In comparison to the findings about the metaphorical understanding of SHAME, this data in itself suggests that the metonymical conceptualization of the emotion is more peripheral than the metaphorical conceptualization of the concept. This part discusses the conceptual metonymies that are found in both databases. The two main conceptual metonymy types, the EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME and the CAUSE OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymies are discussed in two separate subsections.

6.2.1.1 EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME

The EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy typically depicts the physiological, physical and the behavioral responses triggered by the emotion. The physiological responses to the shame typically go with the raise of the body temperature. Physical reactions to the emotion are the downward orientations of the head and the body. Behavioral reactions are the person leaving the situation or the entity that triggers shame, crying or intentional loss of life. Physiological, physical and behavioral reactions to shame are nonverbal manifestations of the emotion. When they are expressed in language, they tend to be referred to shame via metonymic relations. Because it is the body that is in the center or this metonymical understanding (i.e., the physiology of the body, the physical manifestations of the body and the behavioral reactions to the emotion performed via the body), it is plausible to assume that this type of metonymical understanding of the emotion is potentially universal. The results of the corpus analysis indicate that these metonymies motivate the Indian and the American understanding of shame but differences are detected in which conceptual metonymies are more salient and more peripheral in the two contexts. Furthermore, instances of potentially culture specific ways of conceptualization are further detected.

6.2.1.1.1 PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO SHAME

A typical physiological response to shame is the increase of body temperature. There are metonymical linguistic expressions in the corpora that seem to be motivated by the INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy. As the following examples illustrate, the heat caused by the feeling of shame affects the entire body:

Indian English

- And then you have people like the lady in red, Madhura Nagendra, who made Olympic security officials in London go red in the face for lack of proper security. Ms Nagendra also made India *go red in shame*.
- Thus the dewdrops are acting as the' sweat of repentance'. As if the' rose' of the tulip had *burst into sweat* because of this shame.
- Perhaps it's not her who should have *flushed with shame*, but those of us who looked and judged.
- Those ladies who formerly felt the blush of modesty in the presence of even companions of their own sex, now felt no *blush of shame*.
- The modest *blush of shame* vanishes, and improper, undignified acts are committed.
- The necessity of such words, usually not part of court language, should turn any government *red with shame.*

American English

- Even here, the *blush of shame* would not fade.

- As I began to *sweat with shame*, I realized that I was closer to part of the problem than I was to the solution, from a personal perspective anyway.
- Those enthusiastic reviews that had greeted my new novel in the American and English press, and still continued to straggle in from the odd magazines, the praise that had made me blush with pleasure and had delighted Lydia, should have *reddened* me *with shame*.
- I could feel my *skin grow hot with shame*.
- Both Dove and Finn began to *sweat in shame*, feeling that they were going to get in trouble.
- She felt as if she'd been slapped--or at least the *hot shame* she imagined being actually slapped must feel like.
- Vernon felt a *warm shame*, like a boy who'd thought he was a man until his daddy kissed his cheek and tucked him into bed.
- Her eyes came up to meet his, and she felt *hot tears of shame* and longing fill them.
- Nina felt the *heat of shame*. And he was right, that's what made it worse.
- He ran all the way home to hide from the *hotness of shame*.
- And indeed Rolf Eckhof felt a *hot streak of shame* run through him, and this, too, he blamed on Klaus.

An alternative of this metonymical conceptualization is that heat appears on the face or on the cheeks of the person. The BLUSHING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is a subtype of the INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, as it focuses on the effects of body-heat on the face. The following linguistic expressions serve as examples:

Indian English

- But then I feel a slight *blush of shame*, as he turns away with the look still playing on his *face*.
- The *face* of the parents has *coloured with shame* in the darkness of the night.
- I felt ashamed again as both my *cheeks turned red*. This was the last slap i experienced in 8th standard
- Speaking to Bangalore Mirror, Karthika remembered how after her father’s death when they were living at her uncle’s house, he would stumble home drunk and tottering, with a heavy piece of firewood and threats. Tears would flow down her *face, hot with shame* and hopelessness.

American English

- If I had a friend saying silly things like that, I would also cover my face with both my hand while my *face goes red with shame*.

- Karl felt his face *flush with shame* and anger. He ducked his head and walked even faster.
- Her *face* was *pink with* embarrassment and *shame*.
- An empty noose arrived in his hand and he felt *his face go red with shame*.
- With *cheeks red with shame,* Bane slipped back into his shop and closed the door.
- He apologized, then, his *face purpled* by rage and *shame*.
- Surprise flowered on her face, then fell away leaving a spreading *red shame*.
- The *color of shame rose high in her face*; her forehead and neck turned red.
- *Hot prickles of shame* burst out along Dafne's cheeks.

The American English corpus lists metonymical linguistic expressions that specifically depict the increase of heat on the chest and in the neck:

American English

- Now, every time I think about it, I forget where I am and my mind goes blank and my face and *neck goes red with shame*.
- Looks like we got it. Robert's whole *chest* was *hot with shame* and rage.

The INCREASED BODY HEAT vehicle entity appears to be the most salient in both contexts. The salience of this metonymy in the Indian English database is 56.78%. The salience of the metonymy in the American English database is even higher (70.64%). This is because the metonymy seems to be more productive and more frequent in the American database. In the American English database, 21 metonymical linguistic expression types and 173 tokens are identified. In the Indian English database, only 8 metonymical linguistic expression types and 72 tokens are found.

6.2.1.1.2 PHYSICAL RESPONSES TO SHAME

It is often difficult to distinguish between the physical and the behavioral responses to emotions. In the dissertation, the following are regarded as the physical reactions to shame: downward orientation of the head and/or the body, (the person's feeling of) shrinking in size and difficulty in speaking. A usual symptom of negative emotional states (e.g., sadness or fear) is that the person takes a downward bodily posture. This is an automatic manifestation of the state the person is in (the person is not open to others, the person cuts him or herself off the environment, the person does not keep an eye contact with others). The downward orientation of the body as the metonymical vehicle entity of shame is illustrated by the following linguistic expressions:

DOWNWARD ORIENTATION STANDS FOR SHAME

Indian English

- The recent series of articles in HT Delhi on the overt and covert racism prevalent in India, esp. Delhi, brought out the naked truth. I *hang* my *head in shame* on the types of behaviour depicted there, and just hope (though not confident) that it's just a fringe minority which aggressively portrays such racism, even towards fellow Indians from places like North East and Kashmir.
- When will other sports be given encouragement and investment so that we will not have to *hang* our *faces in shame* when even the smallest of nations go home with gold medals?
- *My head goes down in shame*. Love my city Mumbai, the city where I was born and raised up. The city lives in my heart no matter where I'm in the world. Having said all that, the recent gang-rape incident in the maximum city has swept the floor beneath my feet.
- Hearing this from the soldier, the Quazi (Islamic lawmaker), got very embarrassed and became silent. He knew that he could not face any Singh in the battlefield. His *head bent down in shame*.
- A visit to any of the City's parks, which have a path for walking or jogging, can make a lazy youngster *lower* his or her *head in shame*.
- Jaimini *dropped his head down in* utter *shame* and said, "Guruji! I am wrong. Kindly pardon me."
- I *bowed* my *head in shame* and thought, I have not fought for these, I did not buy them in the market; they are not fit gifts for her.
- It will not be enough if Posco leaves this subcontinent forever after paying the damages with their *heads below their shoulders with shame* for attempting to disturb and destroy our environment and displace our people.

American English

- Perhaps today, we may criticize a few of their practices, and even rightly critique some of their views on the sacraments, yet let us *bow our head in shame* in light of the zeal they had in proclaiming the gospel of Christ.
- I *hung* my *head in shame* and Dad started laughing, booming his voice in my direction.
- I've ripped Age of Extinction up and down to all my friends when discussing movies and my *head slumps in shame*, knowing I'll go see this one as well.
- It's not that there is inherent pride in being gay, a common misconception, it's that you don't need to *hold one's head down in shame.*
- Harold doesn't say anything. He *looks down in shame*.
- Lymon *put his head down shamefully* as if she were scolding him.

- I *dropped my head in shame*. No wonder my friends don't want to go out with me. I was eating my ten to twelve bites and then saying that I was stuffed, or saying that was way too much food.

The DOWNWARD ORIENTATION STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is the second most salient in the Indian English database. It is the third in salience in the American English database. The salience in the Indian English database is 49.14%. The salience in the American English database is 27.98%. Eight Indian English metonymical linguistic expression types and 49 Indian English metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. In the Indian English database, the type frequency is 22.86% and the token frequency is 16.28%. In the American English database, 7 metonymical linguistic expression types and 56 metonymical linguistic expressions are found. In the American English database, the type frequency is 9.72% and the token frequency is 11.12%. That is, the understanding in terms of this conceptual metonymy appears to be slightly more productive in the American context.

SHRINKING IN SIZE STANDS FOR SHAME

The feeling of shrinking in size is linked to the downward orientation of the body in the sense that both reactions indicate the person's wish to disappear from his or her environment. The feeling of shrinking in size is further related to the person's evaluation of self as negative. The individual in shame sees him/herself small in comparison to the others. The relation between small size and the worthlessness, as well as big size and worth is metaphorical. The relation between these is motivated by the SIGNIFICANT IS BIG and the INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 50). In Yu's (2008) interpretation, the conceptual metaphors GOOD/MORAL IS BIG and BAD/IMMORAL IS SMALL are further variations of these. The following linguistic expressions illustrate the conceptual metonymy SHRINKING IN SIZE STANDS FOR SHAME:

Indian English

- Tambi's *face shrank in shame*. He returned to our quarters at once.

American English

- I was just playing, I thought, *cringing with shame*. It was as if I deserved what I was getting as punishment.
- The performances, the gags, the timing: all of these should make the writers of contemporary sitcoms *flinch with shame*.
- Adam, *hunched with shame* and pulling his beard in anguish, looks despondently ahead to a life of toil.

The metonymical understanding of shame through the SHRINKING IN SIZE vehicle entity appears to be peripheral in both contexts. It is the 8th in salience in the Indian English database (the salience is 13.19%) and it is 10th in salience in the American English database (the salience is 12.9%). Only 1 Indian English metonymical linguistic expression type and 1 Indian English metonymical linguistic expression are identified. The type frequency is 2.86% and the token frequency is 0.33%. In the American English database, 3 metonymical linguistic expression types and 8 metonymical linguistic expressions are found. The type frequency is 4.17% and the token frequency is 1.59%. The understanding in terms of this conceptual metonymy appears to be somewhat more productive in the American context.

DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING STANDS FOR SHAME

The conceptual metonymy DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING STANDS FOR SHAME is a variety of the INTERFERENCE WITH NORMAL MENTAL FUNCTIONING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy identified by Tissari (2006). This metonymical understanding, on the one hand, indicates that shame is in interference with normal mental functioning. It is a debilitating emotion and, as such, it is negative. On the other hand, it refers to the fact that the existence of emotion is detectable in human speech. The corresponding Indian English and American English metonymical linguistic expressions are the following:

Indian English

- *Shame* and embarrassment *coloured the tone* of the children's harrowing accounts, emotional bruising more difficult perhaps to recognise than a broken limb, or scarred flesh.

American English

- Patrick said, his *voice heavy with shame* and stumbling over ever word.
- Joseph's brothers are *speechless in shame*.

The metonymical understanding of SHAME through the DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING vehicle entity appears to be peripheral in both contexts. The salience of this conceptual metonymy in the Indian English database is the same as that of the SHRINKING IN SIZE STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy (13.19%). In the American English database, the salience is 11.51%. Only 1 Indian English metonymical linguistic expression type and 1 Indian English metonymical linguistic expression are identified. In the Indian English database, the type frequency is 2.86% and the token frequency is 0.33%. In the American English database, 2 metonymical linguistic expression types and 8 metonymical linguistic expressions are found. The type frequency is 2.78% and the token frequency is 1.59%. The understanding in terms of this conceptual metonymy is more productive in the American context.

6.2.1.1.3 BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES TO SHAME

The Indian English and the American English corpora suggest that the following behavioral responses are characteristic to shame: withdrawal, the covering of the body or particular body parts, crying, and death. Withdrawal refers to retraction from the scene, the person or any other entity that are related to the cause of shame as an immediate, on-the-spot response to the emotion. Withdrawal further refers to a general attitude of the person and it is a potential consequence of shame as a longer lasting state. Withdrawal as a behavioral reaction refers to the person's preference to hide and become invisible. The linguistic expressions that illustrate the WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy are listed below:

WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME

Indian English

- Gopi Mohan tries to molest Sathi but the timely intervention of a masked man saves the girl. Sarojam gives birth to a child and *out of shame runs away from the house* leaving her child at' Padmalayam'.
- This reduced the accusers to silence, prompting them to *leave in shame*.
- The ruling class is afraid of nothing so much as a general political strike of workers, engineers, clerks, rallying the workers, fostering their class consciousness and fighting spirit, able to force the authorities to fulfil the demands of the people or to *withdraw in shame*, and acting as the main force of the revolutionary transformation of society – the socialist revolution, which alone has the power to abolish capitalism and to end all the misery and suffering of the working classes.

American English

- He *fled* the place, ashamed and aching with envy.
- He wanted to *duck away in shame*, but he gritted his teeth and crawled forward to the edge of the roof.
- Perhaps if they were forced to repay any illicit funds *and leave* office *in shame*, they might learn to control the situation.
- He just speed out of the yard like he *running away* from the shame and the gratitude that get mix up in his abrupt.
- Congress simply turned the other way and we were *withdrawn in shame*.
- The man she loved had *run off in shame*. She was so sorry for him.
- After two semesters, I *slinked home in shame* and went to work in a furniture factory.

The WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is the 2nd in salience in the American English database (the salience is 28.36%). It is the 5th most salient conceptual metonymy in the Indian English database (the salience is 28.54%). Seven American English metonymical linguistic expression types and 58 American English metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The type frequency is 9.72% and the token frequency is 11.5%. In the Indian English database, 3 metonymical linguistic expression types and 30 metonymical linguistic expressions are found. The type frequency is 8.57% and the token frequency is 9.97%. Overall, the understanding in terms of this conceptual metonymy appears to be more productive in the American context.

HIDING THE BODY/BODY PARTS STANDS FOR SHAME

One's intention to hide and disappear in shame further manifests itself in behavioral responses of hiding one's body or body parts. This hiding is both literal and symbolic. One can literally cover his/her face with the hands and have desire in shame to cover the entire head (thus making the person invisible). This is because we try to escape the source of shame and anything related to the source, and we attempt to make ourselves disappear from the eyes of others in our shame. The Indian English and American English corpora indicate that besides the entire of the body, it is the face and the head that are to be covered when in shame. The following linguistic examples serve as illustrations:

Indian English

- When we see the current reign of terror in Chhattisgarh, the karmabhumii (legacy-lands) of Sant Ghasidas and Shrii Sarkar, we can only *bury our heads in shame* that despite our so-called education we do not have the same integrity and courage (tejasviita) of the Satnamiis.
- The blot and the scar on the democratic India will make our *heads hide in shame* in the polity of the nations.
- However, if types of clothes decide whether one would be raped/ molested and still be called the perpetrator and *hide away in shame*, then how can one explain the rape of a 70-year-old women or two-month-old babies?
- Meena used to *hide* her *face in shame*, but post-surgery was describing herself as beautiful.

American English

- When she saw him, she did *hide her face* in her arms *in shame*.
- If you have acne, you don't have to *hide away in shame* during breakouts.
- As soon as you cease to be frank, you see a stain, you are forced to acknowledge imperfection, and you want only to run away and *hide in shame*.

The HIDING THE BODY/BODY PARTS STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is the 3rd in salience in the Indian English database and the 5th in the American English database. Salience in the former is 41.36% and salience in the latter is 23.01%. Four Indian English metonymical linguistic expression types and 60 Indian English metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The type frequency is 11.43% and the token frequency is 19.93%. In the American English database, 3 metonymical linguistic expression types and 59 metonymical linguistic expressions are found. The type frequency is 4.17% and the token frequency is 11.7%. The understanding in terms of this conceptual metonymy appears to be similarly productive in the two contexts.

DYING STANDS FOR SHAME

A further and most drastic form of escaping the source of shame and the state of shame is disappearance by death. Both the Indian English and the American English linguistic expressions refer to death as a consequence of deep shame. They indicate that killing the person in shame and suicide committed by the person in shame are possible behavioral reactions to emotion. The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

Indian English

- This wastage of investment and of other resources of the poor and helpless people of the state must make the officials to *die in shame*.
- Does the *aandolan* just mean preventing female foeticide, but allows the men to behave as per their wishes and molest the women so that they *die out of shame*?
- Have we gone totally insane? If one of these children *kills him* or *herself out of* sheer fear and *shame* I won't be surprised.
- It is time for NC leaders from Jammu to *die with shame.*

American English

- And then I'm probably going to need to take my break," I said. I needed a few minutes to die of embarrassment. Just ten minutes to *hang myself from shame*.
- My grandfather would *die of shame* if he knew about any of this.

It is noticeable in the Indian English database that a significantly higher number of expressions describe death and suicide as an actual (and not as a figurative) response to shame. There are several linguistic expressions, according to which (1) the person commits suicide in order to make shame cease to exist or (2) the death of the person is caused by another person (a relative or a person unknown to the person in shame) in order to eliminate shame. A hypothetical explanation of this is that India is a tight and strict culture (Triandis, 2002). As Robbins, deWalt and Pelto (1972) explain, the suicide rates tend to be higher in strict cultures as a result of increased forms of self-control (p. 338). It is difficult to find

reliable statistics on suicide rates in India as "the families of suicide victims usually do not want postmortems because of the fear of mutilation of the body, the time-consuming nature of the process, and the stigma involved" (Radhakrishnan and Andrade, 2012, p. 308). The linguistic expressions of the DYING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy and the ones depicting real cases of death illustrate that suicide is committed in order to dissolve the shame of the individual and, hence, the shame of others related to the individual. Because the concept of honor is significant in the Indian context (an individual's honor is the honor of those who are related to the individual), the death of the person in shame is also an act of restoring honor (that of the person in shame and those related to the person as well).

The DYING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy appears to be more salient in the Indian English database. It is the 4th in salience in the Indian English database (the salience is 38.49%) and the 9th in salience in the American English database (the salience is 13.49%). A significantly higher number of linguistic expressions are identified in the Indian English database. 53 Indian English linguistic expressions and 4 Indian English expression types are found. The type frequency is 11.43%. The token frequency is 17.06%. In contrast to this, only 18 American English linguistic expressions and 2 American English expression types found. In the American English database, the type frequency is 2.78% and the token frequency is 3.57%. This metonymy appears to be more productive in the Indian context.

CRYING STANDS FOR SHAME

In contrast with the previous three conceptual metonymies, CRYING STANDS FOR SHAME does not refer to an understanding in which the person wishes to cease to exist. This conceptual metaphor presents a behavioral reaction that depicts the state of emotion as considerably negative. The behavioral reaction (crying) aims to resolve the tension or the sadness that goes together with the shame experience. The following linguistic expressions seem to be motivated by the CRYING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy:

Indian English

- The two leaders condemned the lathi charge on agitating students amid *cries of shame* from the Opposition benches.
- She has seen them *weep in shame* after being teased by friends for being dismissed by a girl.

American English

- I cried *tears of shame* and pain and tears of amazement and joy. How had I created something so perfect out of utter confusion?
- She ran to the woods, *weeping with shame*, and hung herself with the wire from her own loom.

- I do not want to live in a world where the opposition winning makes me *sob in shame* and terror.
- When he isn't writing sketch comedy, he provides legal advice for money which makes him *cry in shame* only some of the time.

The CRYING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy appears to be slightly more salient in the American English database. It is the 6th in salience in the American English database (the salience is 19.05%) and the 7th in the Indian English database (the salience is 21.36%). The number of linguistic expressions motivated by this conceptual metonymy is higher in the American English database. 32 American English linguistic expressions and 4 American English expression types are found. The type frequency is 5.56%. The token frequency is 6.35%. In contrast to this, only 17 Indian English linguistic expressions and 2 Indian English expression types are found. The type frequency is 5.71%. The token frequency is 5.65%. This metonymy is more productive in the American English database.

6.2.1.2 CAUSE OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME

The findings tell us that besides the EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, the CAUSE OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy type motivates the metonymical understanding of SHAME. The second part discusses variations of CAUSE OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION conceptual metonymy. Both the Indian English and the American English databases illustrate this type of metonymical understanding of shame. The corresponding linguistic expressions are, among others, *fat shame* (Indian English and American English), *body shame* (Indian English and American English), *dope shame* (Indian English), *single-mom shame* (American English) and *minority shame* (American English). These compounds denote types of shame that are triggered by different causes. They are metonymical in the sense that the causes of shame (being fat, not having the appropriate body shape, taking illegal drugs to achieve better results in sport, being a single mom, being a member of a minority group) stand for (the types of) shame. The full corresponding linguistic expressions are listed below:

Indian English

- After marriage, you may start gaining weight at such a level that is neither desired by you nor liked by your hubby. Then, your own friends and relatives will *fat-shame* you and you will object to their fat-shaming comments.
- Why do women *body shame* themselves? Notions of patriarchy have so deeply embedded themselves within the mindset of Asian women that in their desperation to keep “in the good books” of those who control their lives and who, they believe love them dearly, inflict terrible torture on themselves.

American English

- As everyone knows, the only person I *fat shame* is this girl right here. But I have to explain what happened.
- Democrats have decided to *body shame* Trump, and in doing so are engaging in a disgusting display of thin privilege.

Dope shame is mentioned in the Indian English database only. *Single-mom shame* and *minority shame* are detected in the American English database only. The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

Indian English

- India's *dope shame* in the Rio Olympics build-up continued with indications that 200m runner Dharambir Singh has returned positive for a banned substance in an in-competition test conducted last month.
- They bankroll the world cricket & ICC but Indian cricketers are repeatedly targeted for irrelevant offences of *dope shame*.

American English

- Catholic institutions have the right to remove anyone in an instructional capacity who publicly advocates beliefs or lifestyles contrary to Catholic teaching ("*Single-mom shame*"). Teachers are role models.
- But what about *minority shame*? Why does one almost never hear expressions of group shame from members of any American group other than white Christians (specifically, white Christian male heterosexuals)? Are the only evildoers in America white male heterosexual Christians?

The CAUSE OF EMOTION STANDS FOR EMOTION conceptual metonymy appears to be of similar salience in the two contexts. The salience of this metonymy is 24.22% (the 6th) in the Indian English database. The salience of the metonymy is 16.47% (the 8th) in the American English database. Nineteen American English linguistic expressions and 4 American English expression types are found. In the American English database, the type frequency is 5.56% and the token frequency is 3.77. Seventeen Indian English linguistic expressions and 3 Indian English expression types found. In the Indian English database, the type frequency is 8.57% and the token frequency is 5.65%. The productivity of the metonymy in the two context types seems to be similar.

6.2.2 Metonymical understanding specific to context

This section discusses conceptual metonymies identified in one database only. With the exception of the BITING THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, the

conceptual metonymies examined in this section are not considered as specific to either context. It is possible that the metonymical conceptualization spotted in the American English database only (i.e., particular facial expressions and ways of looking as metonymical vehicle entities) are present in the Indian context as well but, because they are potentially peripheral, they are not detected in the Indian English corpora. It is further possible that, in comparison with the American context, they are less verbalized reactions to shame in the Indian setting. A similar interpretation can be provided about the SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, which is detected in the American English database but not in the Indian English database. The linguistic data allows us to draw conclusions about which conceptualizations are central and peripheral. They further enable us to raise additional research questions in order to verify and extend the findings.

6.2.2.1 The Indian English database

BITING THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SHAME

There is one conceptual metonymy identified in the Indian English database, which is not detected in the American English corpora. The BITING THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy appears to be specific to the Indian understanding of shame if we consider the research results of Haidt and Keltner (1999), Lewis (2008) and Menon and Shweder (2010). Haidt and Keltner (1999) presented participants with pictures of individuals who expressed shame in various ways. It was only the Indian participants who recognized the pictures of individuals biting their tongue as an expression of shame. As Lewis (2008) and Menon and Shweder (2010) explain, the *bite one's tongue* idiom is part of the understanding of shame in Orissa, India. The origins of this understanding have traces in Hindu mythology. Kali (wife of Shiva, goddess of death and time but also the symbol of feminine energy, creativity and fertility) became obsessed with killing after she murdered the demon called Daruka. The gods turned to Shiva and asked him to help stop Kali. When Shiva and Kali met, Kali did not recognize her husband. As her mind cleared up and she recognized Shiva, she bit her tongue out of embarrassment and shame (Kripal, 1995, p. 245). In visual arts, Kali is often portrayed with her tongue out. It is possible that the understanding of shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is more salient in non-verbal forms of communication.

There is only 1 corresponding linguistic expression detected in the Indian English database, which makes the salience of this conceptual metonymy the smallest in the Indian English database:

Indian English

- It is common to see *Indians stick out their tongue* and pretend to *bite them* when admitting to a gaffe.

The type frequency is 2.86%, the token frequency is 0.33% and the salience is 13.19%.

6.2.2.2 The American English database

This section discusses the conceptual metonymies that are identified in the American English database only. These are the following: FACIAL EXPRESSION STANDS FOR SHAME, WAYS OF LOOKING STAND FOR SHAME, INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR SHAME, INABILITY TO BREATHE STANDS FOR SHAME and SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME.

FACIAL EXPRESSION STANDS FOR SHAME

This metonymical understanding supports the finding according to which the face as a body part frequently appears in the understanding of shame. The following linguistic expressions indicate that the person tends to *wince with shame* or become *shamefaced*:

American English

- After what seemed an eternity, Bert reappeared, *shamefaced* and walking now with a slight limp that would be with him the rest of his life.
- Do you wonder why I never promoted you to captain or colonel or some level more appropriate to your mission? “I shake my head.” “Has the matter ever occurred to you?” ”It has,” I admit, *wincing with shame*.

Understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is the 13th in salience in the database. The salience is 11.31%. Two metonymical linguistic expression types and 7 metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The type frequency is 2.78 % and the token frequency is 1.39 %. The data suggests that understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is marginal in the American database.

WAYS OF LOOKING STANDS FOR SHAME

The WAYS OF LOOKING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, similarly to the HIDING THE BODY/BODY PARTS STANDS FOR SHAME or the WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymies, motivates linguistic expressions that depict as the person in shame is driven to hide and escape the source of shame, the feeling of shame, as well as others who know about the shame. Not keeping eye contact and breaking the eye contact are forms of hiding and escape. This metonymical understanding is illustrated by the following linguistic expressions:

American English

- If when watching Band of Brothers you feel elbowed, as though at a VFW function, to remove your hat and bow your head, watching Generation Kill you feel just as pointedly encouraged to *look away in* disgust or *shame*.
- We could not *look at each other out of shame* and humiliation.
- When Gracy had lifted the sheet that was draped over the girl's legs, the boy had *glanced away*, *ashamed* as if it wasn't right to look at his wife like that.
- My father -- Daddy, as I always call him -- will respond with a Jamaican-of-few-words musically-accented simple "Yes" -- *lowering his gaze* as if ashamed for the speaker at the obvious silliness of such a question.
- Alex *averts his eyes*, stressed and ashamed.

Understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is the 7th in salience in the database. The salience is 16.66%. Five metonymical linguistic expression types and 13 metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The type frequency is 6.94 % and the token frequency is 2.58 %.

INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR SHAME

American English

- Paul feels *dizzy with shame*. He has been caught in his daughter's room, playing with his wife's ring, a ring which now belongs to Jess.
- He lives on, bitter, feebly challenging my midnight raids from time to time (three times this summer), *crazy with shame* that he alone is always spared, and furiously jealous of the dead I laugh when I see him.
- I mean, do you feel free enough to let's say, if you piss in your pants in public, it will not make you *go mad in shame* or how's it called.

Understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is the 11th in salience in the database. The salience is 12.9%. Three metonymical linguistic expression types and 8 metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The type frequency is 4.17 % and the token frequency is 1.59%. The data suggests that understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is marginal in the American database.

THE INABILITY TO BREATHE STANDS FOR SHAME

The INABILITY TO BREATHE STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, similarly to the INABILITY TO SPEAK STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, refers to the debilitating effect of shame. It indicates that shame is not simply interference with normal mental

functioning only but also with physiological and physical functioning. It is possible that the inability to breathe is literally a physical response to shame (as a situation of chronic stress) and a symbolic description of the feeling state of the person in shame. The following linguistic expressions are illustrations of this:

American English

- Christina could *hardly breathe* from shame and rage.
- Some mornings, I wake up *breathless with shame*. What do we do with the things we know of ourselves, but cannot change?

Understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is the last in salience in the database (the 14th). The salience is 10.85%. Two metonymical linguistic expression types and 5 metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The type frequency is 2.78 % and the token frequency is 0.93%.

SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME

The metonymical linguistic expressions motivated by the SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy illustrate that metonymical understanding not only happens through the concept of heat but also through the concept of cold. The relation of HEAT to SHAME is obvious because of the physiological reactions to the emotion (the increase in the temperature of the body). Understanding shame through the vehicle entity COLD seems to contradict the conventional conceptualization of shame (as it happens through the vehicle entity BODY HEAT). Kövecses (2005) examines a similar case: the metaphorical understanding of FEAR in terms of the HEAT source domain (fear is *fueled* by Y), which contradicts the physiological embodiment of FEAR. The conventional understanding of FEAR happens in terms of COLD (get *cold* feet). Kövecses (ibid) explains this arguing that "highly generic metaphors [like INTENSITY IS HEAT] that are based on tight correlations in experience can be applied even to cases in which the metaphor does not fit local embodiment (FEAR IS COLD)" (pp. 289 – 290).

It is suggested that embodiment is overridden for a different reason in the case of shame. The linguistic expressions of the SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy indicate that shame makes the person passive and that the experience is unpleasant. In expressing these aspects, the vehicle entity (COLD) of a related emotion (FEAR) is borrowed. That is, embodiment is overridden for the purpose of expressing a typical behavioral reaction (being passive) and an evaluation of the emotion (unpleasant, hence, negative).

A following linguistic expressions motivate the SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy:

American English

- Then he remembered that ugliness with Claudia, and the *shame made him shiver*.
- Those ultra-embarrassing moments that – if they happened today, wouldn't faze you – but when you recall them you still *quake in shame*?
- Do photographs make you *shudder in shame*, because of how embarrassed you feel about your smile?
- what should have caused me to plunge into the crowd *goose-pimply with shame* instead made me stop and stare at the girl and wonder
- You stood there before her, *frozen in shame* and guilt -- naked.
- He only stared at her while she panted and dropped her eyes, her body *trembling with* fury and *shame*. A few people were close enough to see what she had done, their conversations temporarily stalled before they resumed with a note of false brightness.
- Smedley's chin *quivered with shame*.

Understanding shame in terms of this conceptual metonymy is the 4th in salience in the database. The salience is 24.8%. Seven metonymical linguistic expression types and 40 metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The type frequency is 9.72 % and the token frequency is 7.94 %.

6.2.3 The salience of conceptual metonymies

Table 6 and *Table 7* list the conceptual metonymies identified in the Indian English and the American English corpora respectively in the order of their salience.

Table 6: The salience of conceptual metonymies in the Indian English corpora

Indian English	Conceptual metonymies	Salience (%)
1.	INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME	56.78
2.	DOWNWARD ORIENTATION STANDS FOR SHAME	49.14
3.	HIDING THE BODY/THE FACE STANDS FOR SHAME	41.36
4.	DYING STANDS FOR SHAME	38.49
5.	WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME	28.54
6.	THE CAUSE OF EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION	24.22
7.	CRYING STANDS FOR SHAME	21.36
8.	SHRINKING IN SIZE STANDS FOR SHAME	13.19
9.	DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING STANDS FOR SHAME	13.19

10.	BITING ONE'S TONGUE STANDS FOR SHAME	13.19

Table 7: The salience of conceptual metonymies in the American English corpus

American English	Conceptual metonymies	Salience (%)
1.	INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME	70.64
2.	WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME	28.36
3.	DOWNWARD ORIENTATION STANDS FOR SHAME	27.98
4.	SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME	24.8
5.	HIDING THE BODY/THE FACE STANDS FOR SHAME	23.01
6.	CRYING STANDS FOR SHAME	19.05
7.	WAYS OF LOOKING STAND FOR SHAME	16.66
8.	THE CAUSE OF THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION	16.47
9.	DYING STANDS FOR SHAME	13.49
10.	SHRINKING IN SIZE STANDS FOR SHAME	12.9
11.	INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR SHAME	12.9
12.	DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING STANDS FOR SHAME	11.51
13.	FACIAL EXPRESSION STANDS FOR SHAME	11.31
14.	INABILITY TO BREATHE STANDS FOR SHAME	10.85

6.2.4 Discussion of findings

Compared to the metaphorical conceptualization of shame, the metonymical understanding of the concept is peripheral in both databases. Ten conceptual metonymies are identified in the Indian English database and 15 in the American English database. These illustrate two conceptual metonymy types, the EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME and the CAUSE OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymies. The typical physiological, physical and behavioral responses are sources of the EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy. A characteristic physiological reaction to shame is the increase of body temperature and thus, among others, the reddening of the face (blushing). Characteristic physical responses to shame include downcast eyes, downcast head or body posture and the inability to talk or move. Typical behavioral reactions to shame are covering the face and withdrawal. Several of these responses are vehicle entities in the metonymical linguistic expressions in both Indian English and American English.

The main differences in regard to THE EFFECT OF THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION conceptual metonymy type are the following:

(1) The metonymical understanding related to body temperature is significantly more salient in the American understanding. This is manifested in the salience of the INCREASE IN BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME and the SHIVER STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymies. The latter conceptual metonymy is not detected in the Indian English database. In terms of the INCREASE IN BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, people *blush in shame*, their *faces turn red in shame* or they *sweat in shame*. In terms of the SHIVER STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, people quake in shame, *shudder in shame* and they are *goose-pimply with shame*. The salience of the INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is significantly higher in the American English database than the rest of the conceptual metonymies identified in the corpus.

(2) Culture-specific metonymical understanding is detected in the Indian English database only. A cultural metonymy identified in the Indian English database is the BITING THE TONGUE STANDS FOR SHAME. It is claimed that biting one's tongue as a behavioral reaction to shame has roots in Hindu mythology (Lewis, 2008).

(3) The concept of death seems to be more strongly related to the Indian understanding than it is to the American understanding. It appears to be more salient in the Indian metonymical conceptualization, on the one hand, because the DEATH STANDS FOR SHAME metonymy is more salient in the Indian English database. On the other hand, the linguistic expressions referring to death and suicide as real (and not figurative) behavioral reactions to shame are higher in number in the Indian English database. One potential explanation for this is in the characteristics of the Indian context. As a tight and strict culture, individual deviance from the norms is less accepted. Deviance in strict cultures places a bigger negative pressure on the individuals than in flexible sociocultural contexts. The role of people in the social network is emphasized and, therefore, individual deviance from the norms not only affects the individual but those related to the individual as well. One potential way to eliminate the pressure on the collective caused by individual deviance is the death of the individual.

(4) The body is at the core of the metonymical conceptualization of shame. The context potentially effects, however, how bodily experiences with shame are perceived. An illustration of this is the conceptual metonymy, BLUSHING STANDS FOR SHAME. In the Indian context, blushing is a reaction to shame that is potentially positively evaluated (e.g., "The *modest blush of shame* vanishes, and improper, undignified acts are committed."). It is considered as a manifestation of possessing the main properties women are desired to have (shyness, timidity, bashfulness, etc.) and, hence, the positive connotation (Bhawuk, 2017). The American English linguistic expressions do not illustrate such an understanding.

Examples of THE EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy similarly seem to reflect contextual properties. In the Indian English database, *dope shame* appears in

discussions about cricket (the most popular sport in the country) and *body shame* comes up in relation to the roles of women in the Indian patriarch. In the American English database, *single-mom shame* is defined against the prototypical human life cycle model. *Minority shame* is understood in the frame of social structure and the prevailing minority-majority relations. These shame types come up in the next section about potential causes of shame as well.

6.2.5 Summary

This chapter examined the metonymical conceptualization of SHAME in the Indian and the American sociocultural contexts. The analysis of the Indian English and the American English linguistic expressions revealed that the metonymical understanding of shame, in comparison to the metaphorical interpretation of the emotion, is peripheral. Ten conceptual metonymies were identified in the Indian English database and 15 in the American English database. In majority, they depict physiological, physical and behavioral responses to shame.

The most outstanding conceptual metonymy in both databases is INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME. The metonymical conceptualization of SHAME in terms of HEAT seems to be more central in the American English database, however, because (1) the salience of the INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, in comparison with the other conceptual metonymies identified in the American English database, is significantly more outstanding, and (2) because BODY HEAT-related metonymical conceptualization other than the INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME is detected in the American English database only (e.g., SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME). The role of the body is evident in the metonymical conceptualization of the emotion but context shapes the understanding in two possible ways. Firstly, the perception of bodily reactions to shame reflects properties of the context (e.g., blushing as a positively evaluated physiological reaction to shame is the sign of women possessing shame). Secondly, potential causes of shame expressed with metonymy-based compounds in language (e.g., *body shame* or *dope shame*, instantiations of the EFFECT OF SHAME STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy type) are potentially related to context-specific topics.

6.3 The causes of shame

This section discusses the causes of shame identified in the corpora. The identification of potential causes is difficult because it is not possible to name the causes of shame in as a straightforward manner as, for instance, the causes of basic emotions (e.g., threat as a general cause of fear). Furthermore, as Lewis (2008) argues, shame is not triggered by particular events or traits, but rather by "people's evaluation" of these (p. 743). The perception of an event or trait might be entirely dependent on context. As will be discussed in the analysis, for instance, aging is a cause of shame in the American context because it is interpreted as the passing of vitality, the ability to act, beauty and the individual strength in general. It is conceived of as a weakness that conflicts with the values preferred in the American context (e.g., physical strength, proactivity, 'can do it' attitude). There is no such interpretation of aging in the Indian context. Moreover, the elderly are surrounded with deep respect and, thus, the Indian context is motivated not to see age as a weakness. The causes identified in this dissertation are in line with the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian and the American contexts discussed in Chapter 4.

The causes of shame are identified so that the broader linguistic context around the keyword *shame* is manually examined. The manual identification of causes in a large amount of data is not the best method. It is a subjective form of analysis and, as such, it is possible that particular causes remain unidentified. There is no quantitative methodology available that could be applied in the objective identification of causes, however. As will be illustrated in Section 6.4, the collocation analysis of the database, used to detect concepts related to SHAME, is capable to identify particular cause types. In comparison with the results of the manual method, however, a collocation analysis cannot provide a full picture about possible sources of shame either.

Applying the manual method, 10 possible causes of shame are identified in the Indian English corpora, and 8 possible causes of shame are spotted in the American English corpora. These are causes of shame as a negative concept. It is not to claim that the causes identified in the dissertation are the only potential causes of shame in the two contexts, certainly there are others not pinpointed in the analysis. It seems that the causes discussed in this section provide valuable information about the similarities and the differences of Indian and American concepts of shame.

The aim of the manual analysis is to find "main themes" that appear to stand out in the Indian and the American contexts as potential causes of shame. In the next sections, the main themes are discussed in detail and are illustrated with linguistic examples borrowed from the corpora. The first part discusses the potential causes of shame identified in the Indian English corpora. The second part introduces the findings of the American English

corpus. Because, of all the examined cognitive linguistic researches of shame, Krawczak (2014) prepares the most extensive analysis about potential causes of shame, the causes identified in the dissertation are discussed in the frame of her results. Krawczak (2014) identifies the following cause types: (1) bodily causes, (2) dubious social status, (3) inadequacy, (4) insecurity, (5) social failure, (6) social norm violation, and (7) social status loss (Krawczak, 2014, p. 86). She further differentiates between internal ("coming from within the experiencer or related to his/her actions") and external ("coming from the outside world") cause types (ibid, p. 87). The identified causes of shame are grouped into Krawczak's (2014) categories.

6.3.1 The Indian context

6.3.1.1 Bodily causes: Pollution

Purity and pollution are outstanding concepts in Indian culture. "Cultural practices such as ceremonial dips in sacred rivers (…) which have a wide social acceptance do much to 'wash' away feelings of sin" (Sethi and Dubé, 1982, p. 104). It is believed that people born in high castes are pure and people born in low castes are polluted. "India's hierarchical social structure determines the inherent purity of an individual" (Sanford, 2013, p. 89). The concept of pollution is defined in terms of social status as well as gender. In regard to gender, the concept of pollution is specifically related to the female body (Bhai, 2004).

Periods are considered unclean phenomena in many parts of India. They are also a strong social taboo and, therefore, are literally not spoken about. "Typically, [women have to] remain in seclusion during these occurrences" (Sanford, 2013, p. 89). In some regions, they are not allowed to enter the temples or stay in the family house. As Sinha and Chauhan (2013) explain, "shopkeepers still pack the sanitary napkins in black polythene bags or newspapers to hide them" (p. 149). As Chawla (2006) explains, periods have traditionally been a matter of shame in India. The linguistic data in the Indian English corpus seems to support this. The following linguistic expression illustrates the concept of pollution as a potential bodily cause of shame in the Indian context:

- The first was that the vast majority of women had very little, if any idea about this process – what was happening in their bodies and why. They used terms like "bad blood comes out" and a prevailing belief that they were "*polluted*" while menstruating. Consequently, this experience was *shrouded in* palpable *shame*, and the adoption of practices – mostly abstaining from behaviors such as entering temples or preparing food – that would ensure that bad things would not happen to them or others when they were on their period.

6.3.1.2 Dubious social status: The reservation system and low caste membership

The linguistic expressions in the Indian English database indicate that the concept of the caste system and the concept of shame are related. Caste-based discrimination and low caste membership are potential causes of shame. Both indicate the dubious social status of individuals.

Caste-based discrimination is related to reservation practices. Governmental policies in contemporary India are directed at granting equal opportunities for individuals from lower castes. One policy of this kind is the reservation system, in the frame of which members of lower castes are granted seats in education and in governmental offices. The reservation system is an institutionalized attempt to balance the society in terms of standards of living. Despite its mission, it is a potential cause of shame as the existence of the system suggests that caste-based discrimination is alive in India. The example below illustrates that the system is potentially stigmatizing for people that it aims to help:

- The poem 'Identity card' is written by S Joseph, which explains the pain felt by a student on the parting of a lover after she comes to know his caste through the red mark on his identity card, which indicates his identity as *a scheduled caste boy who receives stipend*. The editors argue that this is not a traditional taboo but *a modern stigma of caste*. It is assigned by modern means in a modern institution. 'Ironically, it is precisely that which offers possibility of *escape from the caste stigma*, a state stipend, higher education, reservation that also stigmatises him, mocks at his aspirations, returns him to his place, exposed humiliated, externed from the world of those normal, others who can love and unite'.

Birth into low castes is a potential cause of shame in itself in several regions of India (Pellissery and Mathew, 2015). This, on the one hand, is because belief in karma, namely that the birth into a low caste "results from sins committed in a previous life" (Pellissery and Mathew, 2012). The Indian English database supports this finding. A corresponding example from the database is the following:

- Ambala is full of them, and that's a fact. Most Jatts will not say they are Hindu. They will say Arya Samaj, Sikh or Muslim, to *hide* their *low caste shame*. I do not blame them. It is like Chamars hiding their surname equivalent, except Jatts hide their true religion.

On the other hand, low caste membership is a cause of shame because of the types of jobs people of low castes are desired to undertake. These jobs (e.g., cleaning toilets, looking for gold in the drains of big cities, collecting plastic garbage) are regarded as dirty. The concept

of pollution is intertwined with these job types and, therefore, people of higher castes would not undertake them. What is more, the dirtiness of these job types is seen as corresponding to the dirtiness of the people who do the jobs. "People who work in unclean jobs are seen as polluting and, therefore, are considered as untouchables" (Pellissery and Mathew, 2015, p. 52). Corresponding linguistic expressions from the Indian English corpora are the following:

- I was taking care of a girl at the university when she was sick. When she learned I'm a Dalit she said that I have *polluted her Dharma* by taking care of her.
- Dalits are not allowed to have their slippers on when walking on upper caste ground. "They are 'The Other' people. Each caste has to follow its rules. Dalits cannot use the chakkada (motor ride) because the tiffin they carry will *get polluted*."
- "I worked in Woodlands, the shoe company. It's owned by an Arora (non-Dalit). Even there the entire labour force is made of Dalits. No other castes but Chamar, Majbi and Valmikis.You'll find non-Dalits as technicians in the Finishing Department. All the filthy parts of the jobs are for us. We don't mingle. They think *we are filthy* too."
- In villages like Ardi, milk from a Patel (non-Dalit) home is kept aside for local sale. Only that milk is sold to local villagers. Milk from Dalit households goes straight into the can and is sent to Amul Dairy. They are fine with other people drinking it but local villagers *will not touch it*."

6.3.1.3 Inadequacy: The dowry system

Potential causes of shame relate to particular cultural practices. One such tradition is dowry, an umbrella term for the money or the gifts the woman's family gives to the fiancé's family as part of the marriage arrangements. Originally, the practice of giving dowry was a form of financial assistance for the newlywed couple. In contemporary India, however, the practise of dowry "has degenerated into a sordid commercial transaction in which monetary considerations receive priority over the personal merits of the bride" (Ghansham, 2002, p. 6). Technically, it became illegal in 1961; nevertheless, it is "practised throughout India irrespective of caste and class" (Ghansham, 2002, p. 7). It is an institution today that is about "the transfer of property at marriage," but essentially also about a "significant means of assessing and representing [the] social status, honour and prestige" of the family of the bride (Roulet, 1996, p. 89).

Dowry is related to shame, on the hand, because it "constitute[s] a system of bargaining in India" and, as such, makes women look like commodities (Pellissery and Mathew, 2012). As such, it is a form of shame for women. On the other hand, if the family offers a dowry less in amount or value than the one expected, the family puts shame not on the bride only

but also on itself (mostly on the head of the family). This is perceived as social inadequacy and, hence, a potential cause of shame. The example from the Indian English database below illustrates this:

- Much of the exploitation comes when a bride's in-laws will demand a sizeable dowry prior to the wedding. This can be in the form of jewellery, cash, consumer goods or property. Dowries can also increase depending on the groom's social status and job abroad. Refusal of meeting the in-law's demands can lead to the wedding being broken off – which could lead to *shame* and dishonour *on the bride*. As 26-year-old Gauri says: "My father-in-law… put the marriage 'on hold'. The wedding venue was changed four times, each time to a more costly place. He wanted a fleet of cars, fancy arrangements for his son. "He told my parents, 'We are high-class people compared to you.'"

6.3.1.4 Insecurity and social failure: Poverty

In Walker's (2014) view, the poverty of people from low castes is a potential cause of shame in India. About "314 million people out of a total population of 1.13 billion are officially considered poor and more than half still live without sanitation" (Walker, 2014, p. 176). People of lower social ranks tend to have less opportunity to have a good education and a profession than people from higher social classes do. Because without education, people have lower chances to find employment and secure their livelihood, poverty is a form of social insecurity. The following linguistic expression from the Indian English corpora illustrates this:

- I left our hometown *without anything* (due to a love marriage) and was trying to stand on my own feet for a long time. I *lost the courage to come before you*. I felt you shouldn't see me in such an impoverished condition. May be that was just my *feeling of inferiority*.

Pellissery and Mathew (2012) in their study on poverty-induced shame find that families living below the average income level "struggle to meet the wide range of social obligations such as death ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, birth celebrations, and religious festivals" (p. 2). These are social duties and it is a form of social failure if the family is not able to do them. It is "loss of face in front of one's 'own people'" (Pellissery and Mathew, 2015, p. 243). The linguistic expression below illustrates this:

- There are a lot of festivals and celebrations in the neighborhood. You have to buy clothes and prepare foods. People will come together and see what you prepared. It is difficult to have money for everything. I borrowed money from my chacha that is

okey until you have things in place. We have to participate. *Everyone will look at you if you dont*.

6.3.1.5 Social norm violation: Marriage and divorce

Family honor is of central importance in India. The institution of arranged marriage serves to maintain family honor. Although there are differences across regions and generations in the extent to which arranged marriages are accepted and practiced, the prototypical marriage model in India is arranged marriage. Marriage is expected to be based on a rational decision and not on an emotional bond. Frey (2014) finds evidence for this in her study on Indian matrimonials (marriage advertisements). "The fact that (…) marriage can be tied among people unfamiliar to each other and that the advertisements are a mere rendering of information allows the inference that marriage is not something tied if a long-term relationship works well and a person finds his or her soulmate but that marriage is obligatory" (ibid, p. 198). Marriage, in essence, is not between two individuals, but between two families (Thandi, 2011, p. 21). The relatives play an active role in searching for potential spouses. Spouses are chosen from the same caste and religious community. Although marriage customs vary across regions and generations, the marriage of individuals from different castes and with different religious backgrounds, in general, is not accepted. Deviation from the culturally accepted model of marriage in any form is a violation of social norms and, thus, a potential source of shame for the individuals in the marriage as well as for their relatives. A corresponding example from the Indian English database is the following:

- I hail from a typical middle class background, from a not-so-big town in (South) India, and after I turned 22, everyone around me was worried that now is the time for me to get married otherwise I would never get married/ *bring shame to my family*/ marry after my younger siblings get married/ run off with someone (yes, they said all these things in front of me!) so, yes, I needed to be married off to someone, who was not my boyfriend. I had a boyfriend already, and my family didn't approve of him when I told them about him (*he was not South Indian, which was a mortal sin in my parents' eyes*).

Another form of deviation from the prototypical Indian model of marriage is divorce. Divorce is a serious violation of social norms, which potentially explains why divorce rate is extremely low in India. As the following linguistic expression illustrates, it is to be avoided because it is highly stigmatizing and a source of shame:

- So, what is it about divorce that leads to hushed whispers when we speak of it in the context of someone we know? Why is there an element of the "breaking news"

variety of gossip attached to it? News of it is shared with a mix of sympathy, pity, salaciousness, condescension and, in some cases, envy. It is very rarely talked about in a matter-of fact manner. The reason for this is the *shame* and secrecy surrounding *divorce*. To go through a *divorce* is akin to having AIDS - both are stigmatised.

6.3.1.6 Social status loss: Widowhood, marriage without a son, female shame and male shame

Potential causes of shame related to social status loss are linked to gender, and specifically to women. The first identified source of shame for women coming as a result of social status loss is widowhood, literally defined as social death (Chakravarti, 2003). Widows stop functioning as members of the community because, without a man at their side, they do not have a role anymore. "Most of the widow's networks break down with the death of her husband, her authority decreases in the household and she is considered inauspicious in the community" (Bhai, 2004). In some communities, the early and unexpected death of a husband is believed to be the consequence of the sins committed by the wife. As such, the death of the husband is shameful for the wife. Shame is stigmatizing and leads to the exclusion of the widow from the community. The stigmatization has visible marks. The widow is deprived of colorful clothes and jewelry, and she is expected to dress in white. In some regions, widows' heads are shaved. Widows are not invited to social events (e.g., weddings). The corresponding linguistic examples are the following:

- I was barely 7 years old when I was made to marry a man who was 15 years older than me; he died only a few years after we were married. As a child Widow, I returned to my parental home and lived with my mother for 13 years. I was so young and *was* already *a shame to myself and my family*. I felt humiliated living there with a shaven head and was often compelled to beg for my food. To flee away from this indignity I left Bengal and moved to RadhaKund, Mathura to be among other Widows. Finally, I was away from the disgrace I felt from my family and community and found others like me and felt some purpose in life.
- At my engagement, my mother was coming holding a plate with sweets towards me, when I overheard a voice of a distant relative suddenly stopping her in her tracks "No, you don't go there – give it to me, I will give it to the priest" (the unsaid message was clearly "*You are a widow, a shame – not auspicious*"). Immediately, Ma's face crumpled a bit but she stopped anyhow – for my sake.

The second potential source of shame linked to women in regard to social status is if the woman, after a particular time of the start of the marriage, does not bear a son. Preference for sons has cultural and economic reasons in India. In the patriarchal family, the relationship between father and son is more emphasized than the relations between the rest

of the family members (Vanneman et al., 2010, p. 6). Sons do not leave their families after getting married because "the custom is for the daughter-in-law to live in the home of her husband and his family" (Thandi, 2011, p. 63). It is the sons that secure the economic future of their families, and they are responsible for taking care of the parents after they grow old. "An overwhelming majority of men and women consider it important to have at least one son in their family" (Priya et al., 2014, p. vii). A frequent blessing at weddings for the bride says "May you be the mother of a hundred sons" (Bummier, 2011). As Pellissery and Mathew (2015) explain, not bearing a son is shameful for a married woman as she is unable to maintain family honor. The following example refers to this:

- The birth of a son is the cause of celebration, while the birth of a daughter is met with silence and *shame*.

The third potential cause of shame related to women is the violation of social norms. Social norms dictate particular patterns of behavior for women. As the understanding of SHAME in terms of the DESIRABLE OBJECT (discussed in Chapter 6.1) indicates, women are expected to possess shame and also express that they have shame. Expression of the possession of shame happens in particular forms of behavior and ways of clothing. Personal traits such as modesty, shyness and restraint are signifiers of the possession of shame. Any sign of lack of shame (as a value) is a source of shame (as a negative concept) for women. The following example illustrates this:

- From what I understand, ghunghat is practiced in most of North Indian states. It involves covering of the face, (only by women) with the end of their sari/dupatta. Ghunghat is observed when married Indian women are in their sasural (in laws' home, village or even city), and also in presence of the in laws, anywhere, like if they visit the woman's parental home or village (maika). Not observing ghunghat maybe seen as being disrespectful and *shameless*.

India is a strongly masculine culture. Various studies examine gender relations and gender-based roles in India and come to the conclusion that women are of "secondary importance" in the society. As Char (1993) explains, the attitude towards women is potentially rooted in Hinduism. "According to Hindu doctrines, women were created by the Brahman to provide company for them and to facilitate procreation, progeny and the continuation of family lineage" (Char, 1993, p. 42). Men are of primary value in the society. "In a patriarchal home, the male is considered the head of the household, chief provider, and chief decision-maker" (Thandi, 2011, p. 57). Failing to fulfill one's role as a man is loss of social status and a source of shame. The following examples illustrate this:

- He makes money so that he collects mud. The job has its pros and cons. I must admit that all the filth is bad but when you get paid well, it's all worth it. You do what you have to in order to *avoid shame*.
- When wife scold their husband near their parents or relatives, that's a *shame*.

6.3.2 The American context

6.3.2.1 Bodily causes: Diseases and "wrong bodies"[25]

Morrison (1998) summarizes the relationship between disease and shame as understood in the American context in the paragraph below:

> "There is a greater incidence of illness-related shame today than in previous times. One factor in this particular variety of shame is our culture's emphasis on maintaining health through diet, exercise, holistic approaches, and New Ages cures. Implicit in these perspectives is the belief that *we each have the power* to assure our own physical well-being. All we have to do is to follow the right diet, work out three to five times a week (…) If we are not healthy, it is our own doing; the illness manifests our *personal failure* – worse, our choice. It is our own fault if we fall ill – *our deficit, our weakness* – and hence we cause our own shame" (p. 92).

Diseases are forms of personal weaknesses and, hence, potential causes of individual shame. The example below from the American English database illustrates this:

- Hyde kept her condition and treatment pretty much to herself. "I didn't speak about it. I never tested my blood sugar in public," says Hyde, who lives in San Diego. Hyde's efforts to hide her diabetes aren't unusual. Few chronic diseases *carry* more *stigma* than Type 2 diabetes. While patients with heart disease or cancer are often showered with sympathy, people with Type 2 diabetes are criticized for being fat, lazy or junk food junkies.

Health is of vital importance in the American sociocultural context. Besides diseases, a further potential cause of health (and body)-related shame is obesity. Obesity is a possible cause of shame despite the fact that "roughly two-thirds of adults [and] nearly 30% of children are overweight."[26] As Mendible (2016) argues, "this is the unacknowledged shame that binds us in silent resignation, the shame whose name we dare not speak; the shame that

[25] The term "wrong bodies" is borrowed from Mendible (2016).

[26] http://www.healthdata.org/news-release/vast-majority-american-adults-are-overweight-or-obese-and-weight-growing-problem-among

is a condition of American life for those who have the 'wrong' bodies" (p. 3). The corresponding example from the American English corpus is the following:

- The true *shame came* sometime around 6th grade when I failed to do a pull-up in front of my entire gym class and tripped and sprained my wrist while running during our "fitness tests" – tests that were pretty much exactly how they sound, measuring how "fit" you are based on how well you can perform various tasks. My *body shame* didn't come from my size or shape so much as it came from my clumsiness and inability to do anything that required strength.

6.3.2.2 Dubious social status: Minority shame

American society is the "salad bowl" of culturally different subgroups. The concept of a "salad bowl" suggests that the cultures that are present in the United States are like the ingredients of a salad (Mahfouz, 2013). They create a whole (modern American culture) but not a homogeneous one. Each culture keeps its own qualities. As discussed in Section 4.4.2, the fundamental American values are established in the foundation documents of the country. The Declaration of Independence refers to individuals who are equal and who have the same rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."[27] The U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights ensures individual rights for freedom of speech, press and religion. At the same time, minority and majority relations appear to be potential sources of shame. Membership in minority groups is a form of weakness in the sense that the minority is peripheral to the majority. This correspondence is best explained with the help of the CENTER-PERIPHERY image schema (Lakoff, 1987, p. 274). In terms of this schema, the social majority appears to have a central and important position, whereas the minorities have peripheral and less important positions. Importance correlates with strength, while nonimportance correlates with weakness. Minority shame is the result of feeling different from the majority, and this difference appears as a stigma. This shame is the result of dubious social status. The following is a corresponding example from the American English database:

- "He put a *shame on* the Tsarni family. He put a *shame on* the entire Chechen ethnicity," the uncle raged. "It has nothing to do with Chechnya." To reporters questions, he answered: "We're Muslims, we're ethnic Chechens," and he went on: "Of course we're ashamed. They're children of my brother. Who had little influence of them." Tsarni's anguished press conference was a live, televised twist on an old American narrative: an immigrant struggling not to have his people defined by the bad behavior of one of the group. Generations of American immigrants not only Americanized their names to seem less foreign; they cringed whenever one of their group "*shamed*" them with notorious criminal behavior.

[27] http://www.ushistory.org/DECLARATION/document/

6.3.2.3 Social norm violation: Female shame

As discussed in Section 4.4.2, American culture is masculine. In regard to gender, the female and male roles are not as strictly different as they are in the Indian context. Also, the American context is significantly less tight about deviance from the defined norms. This does not mean, however, that deviation from prototypical models of particular concepts is not noticed or named. There are linguistic examples found in the American English database that suggest that deviation from models potentially serves as a source of shame.

Being a single mom or being single appears to be a source of shame for women. It is suggested that this is because women who raise their kids on their own or those who do not find potential partners for a long-term relationship do not match the prototypical model of the human life cycle. In 21st century America, there are various models that appear to be socially accepted. In terms of one model, it makes sense to live a single life and focus on one's career only. Another model advocates the importance of the relationship and the marriage of individuals irrespective of gender. The prototypical model of the human life cycle in the American context still appears to be the one in which females and males form a romantic partnership in marriage and females give birth to kids by a certain age. This model is assumed to be the prototype as the rest of the models are all defined in terms of their relation to this. As the following examples illustrate, deviations from this model - being single (unmarried) or being a single parent (raising kids outside marriage) - are potential sources of shame for women. This is illustrated by the following linguistic examples:

- Potential *single mothers* are fearful that they simply cannot parent alone. ... is certain that woman notices her empty ring finger and hangs her head in *shame*.
- This is the shame of long-term singlehood. Or put more succinctly, this is *single shame*. Here's the surprise—what I have discovered. It's not actually being single or not having had a long-term relationship that is the problem, it's the sense that there is something deeply, unnameably wrong with you because you have not had that long-term relationship experience that makes you think you can't have one.
- Growing up in the Midwest, there are a lot of hidden expectations as it relates to marriage. Being 40, I have always compared myself to the people around me as it relates to marriage. Most of my friends were getting married in their late twenties. Therefore, I would feel this unspoken pressure to get married sooner than later. The reason we become offended when people make comments about the "marriage deadline" is because it hit a button inside of us. That button is identified as *shame* mainly because you agree with the notion that *you are NOT where you should be in your life at this point.*

6.3.2.4 Inadequacy: Male shame, divorce and addiction

In the same vein, deviation from the prototypical model of males is a potential cause of shame. In terms of this model, males are dominant, physically and mentally strong, they are financially independent, and they have the ability to procreate. The linguistic expressions in the American English database name infertility as a potential cause of male shame. In Morrison's (1998) words, infertility "might come with the feeling of dysfunctionality and, hence, shame" (p. 93). The corresponding examples are the following:

- *Attitudes of shame* and denial *prevent* men from getting the medical help they need. Men's medical issues are not adequately addressed because society prizes male fertility and virility. Take, for example, the oft-used expression for an infertile man who "shoots blanks." Doctors, too, collude with society to cushion the blow. "They measure every step to protect these men's masculinity. They don't want them to be humiliated so they try to make a patient feel better."
- *Shame grows* with constant thermometer readings. Peeing on countless sticks. Needles. Probes. Tiny plastic cups. Forever counting days. It is amazing how much silence surrounds the struggle of infertility. The silence of not wanting to talk about it. The silence of wanting to talk about, but being scared. That silence gives shame all the voice it needs to whisper silently, "Something is wrong with you."

Divorce is a potential source of shame for reasons similar to those discussed in regard to female shame. In terms of the prototypical model of the human life cycle, females and males form a partnership in marriage. Prototypically, marriage in the American context is the institutionalization of the romantic love between two people. Kövecses (2006) studies the American cultural model of marriage and concludes that the model is based on the MARRIAGE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS conceptual metaphor. It is suggested that further underlying conceptual metaphors are the MARRIAGE IS A VALUABLE OBJECT and MARRIAGE IS A JOB conceptual metaphors. Marriage is something to mutually *take care of*. In a sense, marriage is also a second workplace into which individuals have to put energy in order to make it functional. Divorce is the loss of the unity, the *breaking* of the valuable object, and it is possibly the result of the partners' low performance in the relationship. Either way, divorce can be perceived as a failure, which is a form of weakness and, hence, a potential source of shame. A corresponding example is the following:

- Learning to *overcome* our sense of *divorce shame* can take a lot more work because shame is this permeating feeling—something that maybe we were even raised with and has been a part of our lives for a long time. Anytime our parents or teachers said, "You should be ashamed of yourself!" or anytime we have told ourselves that we are bad people, that we are unworthy of love and happiness, *shame* has been allowed to *grow*.

Divorce is a potential cause of shame in both the Indian and the American contexts. An interesting difference is detected in regard to the divorce rates in the two cultures, however. As discussed earlier, the divorce rate is extremely low in India. In the United States, every second marriage is expected to end in divorce. There are two possible reasons for this. First, the Indian institution of arranged marriage emphasizes that the partners have the same cultural, religious and economic backgrounds. Hence, marriage is a contract between two people and two families that is expected to last. The American model of marriage is based on the notion of romantic love, which is less expected to last for a lifetime. Second, there are different value preferences in the two contexts. In the Indian context, the interest of the family and the community comes first, and the interest of the individual comes second. The emphasis is not on individual but on collective goals. The maintenance of unity is more important than following individual desires. Divorce is going against the dominant value system and, therefore, it is infrequent and frowned upon. In the American context, it is individual goals and self-realization that matter. If marriage does not serve this purpose, divorce is justified. The maintenance of the unity is not required at all costs. The importance of the individual outweighs the importance of the unity and the group. Therefore, even though divorce is a potential cause of shame, it is socially accepted.

A further form of inadequacy is addiction. The American English linguistic expressions continuously refer to various forms of addiction as potential sources of shame. They further appear as masks of shame. The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

- As a person who used alcohol to *cover up shame*, only to create more shame, I can remember the hot flush of shame as it crawled over my body.
- And there are a myriad ways we *defend against shame*. We might withdraw, try to be perfect, go into a rage, or numb ourselves with alcohol.
- He was listening to loud, angry music, using drugs and alcohol to *escape the shame* that he was feeling.

Addiction is a potential cause of shame, probably because it suggests weakness in the individual. Instead of providing a constructive and structured solution to the given problem, difficulties are dealt with only symptomatically and are made worse by addiction. In a

society where mental and physical strength, competition among individuals, and a proactive and constructive attitude are desirable, this is a sign of weakness and it is frowned upon.

6.3.2.5 Insecurity and social failure: Poverty

Financial insecurity and an inability to make the desired amount of money are potential causes of shame in the American context. The link between lack of money and one's profession seems to be strong. As Greenwald and Harder (1998) explain, "the importance of individual achievement and competition" is stressed and, therefore, this context "produces numerous aggressive, status-seeking individuals" (p. 236). People expect to be proportionately paid for the type and the amount of work they do. Poverty is the sign of lack of individual achievement, of not being qualified enough, of not having the right job and of being left behind in the social competition. As these are signs of weakness, poverty becomes a potential source of shame. It is personal failure because it is the individual's own weakness that leads to poverty. At the same time, poverty is social failure because it signals underachievement in social competition, which is a key phenomenon in the American context. Corresponding examples from the American English corpus are the following:

- Money is a deeply emotional issue. It's a stand-in for what we value. Our values are inherently personal and emotional. What we think is important has a lot to do with how we feel. One of the most common emotions associated with money is *shame*. We compare ourselves to someone else and *feel ashamed when we fall short*.
- When you're poor or in the middle of a financial hardship, it can make you feel *powerless* to do anything to change it. But giving in to those feelings of helplessness will only hurt you. You'll feel *shame*. You have to put in the hard work to make money and you need a money plan to keep what you earn.

6.3.2.6 Social status loss: Aging

As discussed at the beginning of Section 6.3, aging is a cause of shame in the American context because it is interpreted as the passing of vitality, the ability to act, beauty and the individual strength in general. It is conceived of as a weakness that conflicts with the preferred American values (e.g., physical strength, proactivity, 'can do it' attitude). Because aging contradicts the desired values, in a way it is a form of social status loss. The ones in the prime of their lives, filled with vitality and power are in the center of society, while the weaker ones are on the periphery. The concepts of aging and weakness are related because of the belief that the older people get, the more powerless they become. Powerlessness is not only a physical but also a mental issue because of the "confrontation with the failed aspirations and unrealized dreams of a life approaching its end" (Morrison, 1998, p. 94). The next linguistic example borrowed from the American English corpus illustrates that

aging is both a private and a social concept. It is private as it is interpreted as the weakness of the individual. It is social because the contextually desired values create an internal motivation in individuals that they have to put effort in maintaining their physical and mental youth even if, biologically, aging is inevitable. Failure to do so is potentially shameful for the individual:

- Being old is embarrassing. It's shameful. In the American culture that I — and you too, maybe — am bathed in, old age is not an honorable state. It is *the ultimate failure*. How can you let that happen to you? How uncool! How doddering! What poor planning! What? You aren't young and sleek and quick of mind? How useless and uninteresting you are! You don't know what Snapchat is? You've still got a landline at your house? You don't commute to a real job every day? You're boring. Psychologists have a name for it. They call it the *shame of aging*.

6.3.3 The discussion of the findings

The manual analysis of the linguistic data leads to the identification of 10 potential causes of shame in the Indian context, and 8 potential causes of shame in the American context. Assigning the identified causes to Krawczak's (2014) categories, we get the following results:

1. Bodily causes: pollution and periods (Indian); diseases and wrong bodies (American)
2. Dubious social status: The reservation system and low caste membership (Indian); minority shame (American)
3. Inadequacy: The dowry system (Indian); Male shame and divorce (American)
4. Insecurity and social failure: Poverty (Indian and American)
5. Social norm violation: Marriage and divorce (Indian); female shame (American)
6. Social status loss: Widowhood, marriage without a son, female shame and male shame (Indian); aging (American)

Overall, the "main themes" associated with the potential causes of shame are mostly the same in the two contexts. Poverty is likely cause of shame in the Indian and the American context as a form of insecurity for the individuals. Without resources, people have poor prospects to improve the quality of their lives. Poverty is a form of personal failure if the individual fails, for example, to exploit education opportunities and, thus, to find employment that would provide a living. Poverty is a form of social failure if it is the consequence of one's social status. People, in this sense, are poor because without resources and support they cannot break out from the social group they are born into. Membership in particular social groups is a potential source of shame in both contexts. Shame may be

triggered by belonging to low castes in the Indian, or to minorities in the American context. Potential causes of shame associated with the human body (e.g., diseases, obesity, or periods) and with gender (e.g., female and male shame) are detected in both contexts. The differences between the identified "main themes" are found in the details of the Indian English and the American English linguistic data.

With regard to poverty, it is clear that the Indian English examples primarily present scenarios where poverty is a consequence of one's social status. As opposed to this, the American English examples refer to poverty as a form of individual failure. In the Indian context, periods – intertwined with the concept of pollution – are triggers of shame because of the sociocultural characteristics of the context (e.g., dominant religious views or caste hierarchy). In the American context, possible body-related causes of shame are disease and obesity. Periods are not mentioned in the American English linguistic data. There, disease and obesity are relevant because they appear as violations of the social expectations, namely that people are responsible for preserving their physical strength. The details of gender-related causes of shame are further different in the two contexts. In the Indian context, divorce is a violation of social norms. In the American context, it is a sign of individual inadequacy.

Failing to perform socially expected forms of behavior is shame related to women in the Indian context. Women are expected to possess shame and also express that they have shame. Expression of the possession of shame happens in particular forms of behavior and ways of clothing. Personal traits such as modesty, shyness and restraint are signifiers of the possession of shame. Any indication of lack of shame (as a value) is a source of shame (as a negative concept) for women. In the American context, a woman raising a child on her own is a potential trigger of female shame if considered inconsistent with the prototypical model of human lifecycle. Both the Indian and the American instances of female shame are linked to social norms. Yet, while in the Indian context the emphasis is on the effect the breach of the norm has on others (it is a shame for the family if a female family member misbehaves), in the American context it is personal failure.

The findings about potential causes of shame, overall, suggest the following: (1) the causes of shame derive their meaning in light of the sociocultural features of the Indian and the American contexts, and (2) shame is a social emotion in both contexts, but while in the Indian context it is more public in its nature, in the American context it is individualized. Shame is a social emotion because it is linked to social norms, customs and sociocultural features. The identified main causes (poverty, class, body-based and gender-based causes), as described in the previous two paragraphs, appear as potential causes of shame in light of the sociocultural features of the contexts. In the Indian context, shame is more likely to appear as a public phenomenon because the understanding of the concept largely happens

more in relation to the group (family and society) than in relation to the individual who experiences shame. In order to illustrate this, let us take a look at the following causes of shame again:

1. Bodily causes: pollution and periods (Indian context)

Periods, in association with the female body, are considered shameful because they are linked to the concept of pollution. It is the shame of the individual, yet it is primarily interpreted in the terms of its effects on the community. An example of this is that women are not allowed to enter temples and they cannot get in contact with others during their periods, to prevent the spread of pollution to others (Sanford, 2013).

2. Social norm violation: Marriage and divorce (Indian context)

As discussed in Section 4.4.1, the basic unit of Indian society is the family. Individuals define themselves primarily by the family (in a broader sense, by the community) they belong to. The family is responsible for bringing up children with appropriate values. In general, appropriate values include that children lead a life in compliance with social norms (men are wage earners and ensure the security of the family; women raise children, and support men and other relatives), and, specifically, that they should enter a marriage that secures the future of the family. The concept of arranged marriage serves this purpose, as it ensures that the couples (and, thus, their families) are of the same background, share the same values and live in similar circumstances. Intercaste marriage, marriage across religions, and divorce are potential sources of shame because they signify the family's failure to teach the norms, customs and expectations to the descendants. As such, shame triggered by these is not simply shame for the individual; it is shame for the individual's family (or the broader community) as well.

3. Social status loss: Widowhood, marriage without a son, female and male shame (Indian context)

The failure of women to give birth to boys, and inappropriate forms of behavior are considered, for reasons described above, the shame of the family (and, in a broader sense, the shame of the community). All these failures come from violating the norms, values and anticipated forms of living. The lack of a son and inappropriate forms of behavior are threats to the honor of the family that is induced by women. The shame that comes from the inability of the head of the family to provide financial security for the family is a threat to the honor of the family that is induced by men. In some communities, the sudden death of the husband is interpreted as the shame of the woman (Bhai, 2004). The essence of widowhood comes as a social concept: women without male ties to the community cannot

be part of the community. As discussed in Section 3.3.1.6, this form of shame is manifested in many ways: widows cannot take part in social events and they need to dress differently.

These examples illustrate that the Indian concept of shame typically gains meaning in the frame of social relationships. In contrast with this, shame in the American context mostly appears as an individualized concept. The shame of the individual takes on a meaning in reference to the individual. In order to illustrate this, let us take a look at the following causes of shame again:

1. Bodily causes: diseases and wrong bodies (American context)

In this type of shame experience, the perspective of the conceptualizer is imposed on conceptualization, and the emotion is primarily understood in the frame of its relation to the conceptualizer. It is not to say that diseases or obesity as sources of shame do not have a social aspect. They clearly have because – as the linguistic example in Section 3.3.2.1 suggests – people prefer to hide these triggers of shame so that the others do not learn about them. The essence of this understanding of shame, however, is that it is triggered by the individual's weakness.

2. Social norm violation: female shame (American context)

As discussed in Section 3.3.2.3, the prototypical model of the human life cycle in the American context appears to be the one in which females and males form a romantic partnership in marriage and females give birth to kids by a certain age. Deviations from this model (e.g., being single) are potential sources of shame for women. Interesting about the linguistic examples referring to these is that deviations from the prototype are violations of social norms because individuals cannot live up to them. Individuals appear as wounded (i.e., one is single because "there is something deeply, unnameably wrong with" the person) or different (i.e., one is single because, in comparison with others, the person is "NOT where [he/she] should be in (…) life").

3. Social status loss: aging (American context)

As explained in detail earlier in this section, aging is a form of weakness in the American context because it opposes the dominant values. It is the sociocultural features of the American context that make aging a potential source of shame. Aging is a form of individualized shame because it is believed to appear as a consequence of one's weakness. Naturally, aging has social aspects as well. The concept of "other" is inherent in conceptualization as one aims to hide the cause of his/her shame from the others in order not to appear weak and not to be frowned upon. Aging as a source of shame in the

American context takes on a meaning primarily through its causes (individual weakness and failure to stay young), however, and not its consequences (e.g., being frowned upon).

Krawczak (2014) in her analysis further names internal and external cause types. Internal causes come "from within the experiencer or related to his/her actions" (Krawczak, 2014, p. 87). External causes derive "from the outside world" (ibid). It is argued that the causes of shame identified in the dissertation cannot be categorized into internal or external cause types. As a matter of fact, a main finding of the analysis is that potential causes of shame in the Indian and the American contexts are external and internal at the same time. It appears that external causes, through the process of socialization, become internal.

A good example is "marriage without a son" as a potential cause of shame in the Indian context. This is an external cause of shame in the sense that preference for sons has cultural and economic reasons in India. The traditions (namely, that sons stay with their families and are responsible for the financial security of their families) assign sons life tasks that make their existence more important (socially) than that of women. Because of this social structure, the inability to bear sons is a shame that society imposes on women and their families. At the same time, this is not simply an external expectation. In order to preserve personal and family honor – which is a value built in individuals through processes of socialization –, it is an internal expectation as well. As such, "marriage without a son" is both an external and an internal cause of shame in the Indian context. This argument is supported by the finding according to which "an overwhelming majority of men and women consider it important to have at least one son in their family" (Priya et al., 2014, p. vii). The common blessing at weddings ("May you be the mother of a hundred sons") further reflects this (Bummier, 2011).

Another good example of how external causes of shame are simultaneously internal is disease as a potential cause of shame in the American context. Because of the belief that individuals "have the power to assure [their] own physical well-being" and, thus, diseases are manifestations of "personal failure, (…) deficit, (…) weakness," being unhealthy appears as a cause of shame as if it came from within the individual and, hence, as if it was an internal cause (Morrison, 1998, p. 92). Although this observation is true, it is important to see that this attitude has roots in the sociocultural characteristics of the American context. As discussed in Section 4.4.2, this is a context soaked with Puritanism, the idea that anything can be achieved with effort. Individual achievement is so much in the foreground that it serves as a basis of self-definition. It is the individualist values that dominate this context and, therefore, it is individuals who are (physically and mentally) strong and self-responsible, as well as individuals who are proactive in achieving personal goals and success who are the most valued. Because it is individuals and their abilities in the center, failure to live up to the socially imposed expectations is automatically conceived as

personal failure. As such, disease as a potential cause of shame is clearly an external and an internal cause as well.

6.3.4 Summary

This section attempted to explore the potential causes of shame in the Indian and the American contexts. The manual analysis of the linguistic data led to the identification of 10 potential causes of shame in the Indian context, and 8 potential causes of shame in the American context. It is emphasized that the identified causes are not the only causes of shame. It is possible that there are several additional causes of shame in the two contexts. The identified causes are assigned to the categories identified by Krawczak (2014) and discussed in the frame of those. The identified causes are illustrated by linguistic examples. On the basis of the findings, the following main conclusions are drown:

(1) The causes of shame derive their meaning in light of the sociocultural features of the Indian and American contexts.
(2) Shame is a social emotion in both contexts but it appears more like a public emotion in the Indian context and more like an individualized, private experience in the American context.
(3) The identified causes of shame in the Indian and the American contexts are external and internal at the same time. The external cause, through the process of socialization, becomes internal. This again illustrates the effect of context on emotion conceptualization.

6.4 Concepts related to SHAME

This section describes the concepts that seem to be related to or evoked by shame in the analysis of the Indian English and American English linguistic data. In the definition of Kövecses (2014a), "related concepts" are "emotions or attitudes that the subject of an emotion (i.e., the person feeling an emotion) has in relation to the object or cause of the emotion" (p. 17). In the dissertation, related concepts are considered in a somewhat broader sense. Both emotion concepts (e.g. FEAR, ANGER or EMBARRASSMENT) and nonemotion concepts (e.g. RESPECT, MORALITY, COMMUNITY or TRADITIONS) are considered as "related concepts" of shame. The cognitive-cultural models of shame, by definition, encompass concepts related to shame. At the same time, the cognitive-cultural models evoke a matrix of concepts and gain meaning embedded in that (Kövecses, 2014a). As discussed in Section 2.1.4, it is difficult to distinguish which concepts are tied to shame as being part of the cultural models of the emotion, and which are related to shame as being part of the matrix of concepts shame as a cultural model evokes. The concepts evoked by shame in several cases can be considered as constituting the "domain matrix" (Langacker, 1986) as well as the cultural models. In order to simplify the analysis, the dissertation considers both related concepts types as related concepts of SHAME.

The section is divided into three parts. Firstly, I describe the methodology of identifying the related concepts of SHAME in detail. Secondly, I present the findings of the analysis. Thirdly, I analyze and compare the results obtained from the two databases.

6.4.1 The methodology of identifying the concepts related to SHAME

The related concepts of SHAME are identified so that a collocation analysis of the Indian English and American English databases is performed with the help of the AntConc online software. It is suggested that the lexical items that have a strong association with *shame* in the databases denote concepts that are strongly related to SHAME. The collocation strength between lexical items denoting concepts (the collocates) and the keyword **shame** (the node) is taken as indicative of which concepts are related to SHAME. Collocation is measured so that a wide collocation window is set (20 words to each side of the node). This is because it is hypothesized that lexical items denoting related concepts of SHAME do not necessarily occur in a small distance from the node (e.g., 2 or 3 words to each side of the node). The collocation strength between the collocates and the node are calculated on the basis of Mutual Information (MI). MI is a "statistic for measuring how closely related two words are" (Kilgarriff, 2006). MI is a measure of association (Kilgarriff, 2006). As Gatto (2013) explains, "it is generally accepted that an MI-score of 3 or higher can be taken as evidence of a collocation" (p. 27). For this reason, only collocates of *shame* with an MI-

score of minimum 3 are considered in the analysis. The first hundred collocates are examined in both databases.

The strength of association appears to be a reliable methodology in identifying objectively what concepts are related to SHAME. One needs to be careful with the interpretation of the results, however. There are collocates in the list that appear to denote concepts related to SHAME in a straightforward manner. For instance, *Hinduism* as a collocate of *shame* in the Indian English corpora appears to refer to RELIGION or PHILOSOPHY (Hinduism is considered both a religion and a religious philosophy) as concepts related to the Indian concept of shame. There are collocates in the list that, as isolated lexical items, however, allow us to draw "less straightforward" conclusions about what concept they evoke. At best, they give us hints about potentially related concepts of shame. For instance, *scars* as a collocate of *shame* in the American English corpus could be interpreted as denoting the concept of pain and also the concept of injury. PAIN as a related concept of SHAME highlights the painful characteristics of the emotion. INJURY as a related concept of SHAME similarly highlights the painful characteristics of the emotion or it refers to a potential cause of the emotion. The interpretation of what concepts the collocates potentially denote and in what ways they are related to SHAME is, therefore, in these cases, subjective.

The subjective interpretation of the data is inevitable in further parts of the analysis as well. In compiling the list of collocates, intuition-based choices are made. Only those collocates are kept in the list that, in light of the findings about the metaphorical and the metonymical understandings of SHAME, as well as the potential causes of shame, are considered carrying information about the concepts related to SHAME. Collocates not considered meaningful in the identification of related concepts are left out. In sum, the collocation analysis happens in light of the research results about the conceptualization of SHAME so far identified in the dissertation. An illustration of how the collocates are sorted is provided in *Table 8* below:

Table 8: Sample list of collocates

Nr	Stat[28]	Collocate	Related concept	Related concept category	Related concept type
13	4.63659	*ailments*	SUFFERING	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
	~~4.31466~~	~~*Ahmad*~~			
	~~4.31466~~	~~*accordingly*~~			
	~~4.17716~~	~~*corners*~~			
	~~4.05163~~	~~*serials*~~			
14	4.31466	*respectable*	RESPECT	RESPECT	other

[28] "Stat" is the MI-score and the collocation strength measure. The higher the score, the stronger the association between the collocate and the node.

Table 8 lists collocates of *shame* from the Indian English corpora. Whereas the lexical items *ailments* and *respectable* are considered as indicative of concepts potentially related to shame, the other lexical items (*Ahmad*, *accordingly*, *corners*, and *serials*) are not. The justification for this is the following. On the basis of the research findings discussed in Section 6.1, we know that a metaphorical understanding of the Indian concept of shame happens in terms of the DISEASE source domain. The lexical item *ailment* can be considered as indicative of this metaphorical understanding of SHAME. The analysis of the broader linguistic context of *shame* in identifying the potential causes of the emotion suggests that the concept of respect is related to SHAME in that RESPECT helps in the prevention of SHAME. As discussed in Section 6.3., in the Indian context, not respecting, for instance, the traditions is a potential cause of shame. Keeping the traditions earns respect. The lexical item *respectable* can be considered as indicative of RESPECT as a concept related to SHAME. The lexical items *Ahmad*, *accordingly*, *corners*, and *serials* are not considered as reflecting concepts potentially related to SHAME because they cannot be linked to any of the previous findings about the conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies and the causes of SHAME discussed in the dissertation so far.

The identified 100 collocates and the concepts they denote need to be systematized in order to be able to see, what the findings tell us about the Indian and the American concepts of shame. The systematization of the collocates happens in the steps described below. The results are summarized in *Table 9* and *Table 10* available in the Appendix.

1. I identify the concept the collocate denotes.
2. I identify the nature of the relationship of the identified concept and shame. It is claimed that the detected concepts are related to the causes of shame, appear as parts of the feeling states of shame, refer to possible consequences of shame or are part of a network of concepts in which SHAME is embedded.
3. In order to make the handling of the data easier, I group the identified concepts into broader concept categories.
4. The collocation strength measure of the collocates and *shame* are taken as indicative of the strength of relatedness of the concept evoked by the collocate and SHAME.

An illustration of the systematization of the collocates along these steps is provided in *Table 11* below. *Table 11* is an excerpt from the Indian English collocate list provided in the Appendix.

Table 11: Excerpt from the Indian English collocate list

Nr	Stat	Collocate	Related concept	Related concept category	Related concept type
12	4.63659	*bankrupt*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL	cause

				PHENOMENA	
20	3.63659	*harassing*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
23	3.38866	*abusing*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
27	3.31466	*abuser*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
30	3.31466	*malnourishment*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
32	3.31466	*divorce*	MARRIAGE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
46	3.05163	*abusive*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
54	3.05163	*marry*	MARRIAGE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
59	3.05163	*dowry*	DOWRY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
63	3.05163	*suicide*	SUICIDE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	consequence
68	3.04845	*humiliation*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
83	3.00789	*income*	MONEY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
87	3.00265	*malnutrition*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
89	3.00265	*violence*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
92	3.00265	*poor*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
100	3.00155	*money*	MONEY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause

Table 11 lists 16 collocates that are associated with *shame* in the Indian English database with varying strength. The collocates *bankrupt*, *malnourishment*, *malnutrition*, and *poor* can be considered to denote the concept of poverty. This is possible in the sense that *bankrupt* and *poor* refers to a state of lacking money, while *malnourishment* and *malnutrition* refer to an unhealthy state in which the person is deprived of the required amount and quality of food potentially because they lack money. The collocates *harassing*, *abusing*, *abuser*, *abusive*, *humiliation*, and *violence* can be considered to denote the concept of abuse. This is possible as harassment (*harassing*) and *humiliation* are forms of annoyance of aggressive nature. The collocates *abusing*, *abuser*, and *abusive* refer to the concept in various word classes. The collocates *divorce* and *marry* can be considered to denote the concept of marriage in the sense that *divorce* is the absence of marriage, while *marry* is a verb referring to the birth of marriage. The collocate *dowry* denotes the concept of dowry in a straightforward manner. The collocate *suicide* denotes the concept of suicide in a similar fashion. The collocate *income* and *money* are considered to denote the concept of money. The related concepts identified in the described logic (POVERTY, ABUSE, MARRIAGE, DOWRY,

SUICIDE and MONEY) are considered to belong to the SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA related conceptual category because, on the basis of the findings discussed in Sections 6.2 and 6.3, these are potential causes or consequences of shame stemming from the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian context.

6.4.2 The Indian English database

The collocation analysis of the Indian English linguistic expressions collected from the corpora gives the following results:

1. The closest concept to SHAME is WOMAN. The collocate *women* has the highest collocation strength with the node, *shame*. This is the first item on the collocation list. An additional 10 collocates evoke this concept on the list: *females*, *dresses*, *widows*, *menstrual*, *ladies*, *menstruate*, *periods*, *sisters*, *daughter* and *girls*. In light of the analysis of potential causes of shame (Section 6.3.), WOMAN is a concept possibly related to the causes of shame in the Indian context. In light of the analysis of the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian context, WOMAN is one concept in the matrix of concepts which the Indian SHAME is embedded in.

2. The next concept related to SHAME is CONTROL. CONTROL is handled as a category that includes the following 10 concepts: SUPERVISION, BURDEN, COMPLIANCE, EXPECTATION, CONFINEMENT (*confinement*), ETHICS, MANNERS, MORALITY, RULE, and WEAPON. The collocate *supervision* denotes the concept SUPERVISION. SUPERVISION is a form of exercising control. The collocates *riddance*, *weight*, and *release* denote the concept BURDEN. BURDEN is a form of control as a weight exerts force on an entity. The collocate *compliance* stands for the concept COMPLIANCE. COMPLIANCE refers to a state of being under the control of the entity one complies with (e.g., norms exert a control on individuals if individuals keep these norms). The collocate *expectation* evokes the concept EXPECTATION, the collocate *rule* refers to the concept RULE, the collocate *ethics* stands for the concept ETHICS, the collocate *manners* denotes the concept MANNERS, and the collocate *moral* stands for the concept MORALITY. These are all forms of pulling one under control. The person is compliant with the expectations, the rules, and the ethical and moral codes. In other words, the person is under the control of these. The collocate *confinement* indicates the concept CONFINEMENT. Confinement is a state of being held under control. The collocate *weapon* indicates the concept WEAPON. Control can be perceived as a form of weapon: the one who possesses the weapon exercises control. The concepts of CONTROL can be perceived as being part of the matrix of concepts the Indian SHAME is embedded in.

3. TRADITIONS is a further concept related to SHAME. The following concepts are grouped in this category: TRADITIONS (traditions), CUSTOMS (*customary*) and RELIGION (*religious*, *religion*, *Hinduism*). The concept TRADITIONS possibly relates to SHAME as linked to potential causes of the emotion. Because of the characteristics of the Indian sociocultural context discussed in Section 4.4.1, TRADITION is further interpreted as part of the matrix of concepts the Indian concept of SHAME is embedded in.

4. INVISIBILITY and VISIBILITY are categories that include the following concepts linked to SHAME. INVISIBILITY consists of the following concepts: WITHDRAWAL (*withdraw*), COVER (*cover*), SILENCE (*silence*), HIDE (*hide*) and SECRET (*secret*). WITHDRAWAL and HIDE can be thought of as consequences of shame: disappearance by leaving and, thus, turning invisible. Silence is a form of invisibility in the following sense. If one is loud, one is noticeable and, hence, visible to the others. If one is silent, one is not noticeable and, hence, invisible to the others. COVER is a form of invisibility of similar reasons SILENCE is: entities covered are not visible to the eye. Considering the metaphorical understanding of SHAME discussed in Section 6.1, namely that the emotion is often perceived as covering the person, COVER is a concept related to the feeling state of SHAME. SECRET, by definition, is something kept hidden from others and, hence, invisible. Considering the findings discussed in Section 6.1 again, in terms of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE conceptual metaphor, people tend to cover their shame and try to keep it hidden from others. As such, SECRET is potentially related to the feeling state of shame. CONFESSION is the opposite of keeping things hidden from others and, hence, things confessed are things made visible. It is possible to interpret CONFESSION as a concept related to causes of shame (i.e., the confession of something potentially causes shame as others learn about the thing confessed) or consequences of shame (one confesses what is necessary in order to be released from shame).

5. CHARACTERISTICS is a further category identified in the database. CHARACTERISTICS covers the following concepts: TIMIDITY (*tame*), NOBILITY (*noble*), ATTITUDE (*attitudes*), PROPERTY (*property*), INNOCENCE (*innocent*) and PROTECTION (*protective*). *Attitude* and *property* can be considered as synonyms of *characteristics*. *Being tame*, *noble* and *protective* can be perceived as types of properties. Within the category CHARACTERISTICS, TIMIDITY seems to be the most strongly linked to SHAME as the collocation strength between *tame* and *shame* is the highest among the collocates listed in this category.

6. DIRT (*dirty*), SUFFERING (*ailments* and *suffered*), STIGMA (*stigmas*), DISEASE (*illness*), POLLUTION (*polluted*), FAILURE (*fail*), PUNISHMENT (*punish*), and EXPOSURE (*publicly*) are identified in the database as related concepts of shame. Because these all have a negative connotation, they are grouped into the category NEGATIVE CONCEPTS. In line with the

discussion in Section 6.3.1, dirt, disease, pollution and failure are potential causes of shame in the Indian context. Stigmas too can be considered as causes of shame. Suffering and exposure are potentially linked to the feeling states of shame. Punishment is a possible consequence of shame.

7. Five collocates in the database evoke the concept RESPECT: *extols*, *respectable*, *praised*, *respectfully*, and *respected*. RESPECT can be considered as part of the network of concepts in which SHAME is embedded in the Indian context.

8. POVERTY (*bankrupt*, *malnourishment*, *malnutrition* and *poor*), ABUSE (*harassing*, *abusing*, *abuser*, *abusive*, *humiliation* and *violence*), MARRIAGE (*divorce* and *marry*), DOWRY (*dowry*), SUICIDE (*suicide*) and MONEY (*income* and *money*) are detected in the database as concepts related to SHAME. These concepts are considered to belong to the category SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA because, on the basis of the findings discussed in Section 6.3, these are potential causes or consequences of shame stemming from the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian context.

9. HONOR is a concept further related to SHAME. It is evoked by two collocates: *defame* and *honor*. HONOR can be interpreted as part of the matrix of concepts embedded in which SHAME appears in the Indian context.

10. The next identified concept related to SHAME is COMMUNITY. The following concepts are grouped here: BROTHER (*brother*), CHILDREN (*child*), COLLECTIVE (*collective*), COUNTRY (*India*), CULTURE (*culture*), ELDERS (*elderly*), FAMILY (*family*), FRIEND (*friend*), HUSBAND (*husband*), NATION (*national*), PARENT (*parents*), SOCIETY (*social*, *society*, *socially*), and SONS (*sons*). These concepts are regarded as denoting members or parts of the community. It is suggested that the COMMUNITY is part of the network of concepts embedded in which SHAME appears in the Indian context.

11. Several emotions are spotted in the database as concepts related to SHAME. These are SHYNESS (*shy*), SADNESS (*dismal*), PRIDE (*pride*), FEAR (*fear*, *threat*), EMBARRASSMENT (*embarrassment*), and GUILT (*guilt*). Collectively they are referred to as the category EMOTIONS. Some of them (e.g., fear) can be considered as related to the feeling state of shame, while others (e.g., sadness) are potentially related to the consequence of shame. The emotion concepts related to SHAME can also be interpreted as being part of the network of concepts embedded in which SHAME is understood in the Indian context.

12. BODY (*bodies*) is a concept further related to shame. Considering the metaphorical and the metonymical understanding of the emotion, body is a concept either related to the

feeling state of shame or it is part of the matrix of concepts that frames the Indian concept of shame.

13. The last concept identified in the database as tightly related to SHAME is LAJJA. This is evoked by the collocate *sharam*. This is considered as part of the matrix of concepts that frames the Indian concept of shame.

6.4.3 The American English database

The collocation analysis of the American English linguistic expressions collected from the corpora gives the following results:

1. Most concepts related to SHAME in the American English database have a negative connotation. The following fifteen concepts are listed as part of the category NEGATIVE CONCEPTS: REPRESSION (*repressing*), ACCUSATION (*accusation*), AGONY (*agony*), BLAME (*blame*), CHOKE (*choking*), CONDEMNATION (*condemn*), DARKNESS (*black*), DEPRIVAL (*deprived*), DESPAIR (*despairs* and *despair*), DESTRUCTION (*destruction*), DISGRACE (*disgrace*), DISMAY (*dismay*), INJURY (*injury*), INSANITY (*insane*, *madness*), MONSTER (*monsters*), and PAIN (*painful*, *scars*, *painfully*, *hurt* and *anguish*). *Repressing* has the highest collocation strength with *shame*. This is the first on the list. There are concepts in this group (e.g., REPRESSION, PAIN or AGONY) that are possibly related to the feeling state of shame. Others (e.g., INSANITY) are potential consequences of shame. There are concepts (e.g., DISGRACE or DISMAY), which probably are parts of the matrix of concepts the American concept of shame evokes.

2. There are various concepts that appear to belong to the category CHARACTERISTICS. Four concepts are grouped in this category: PERSEVERANCE (*perseverance*), STRENGTH (*strong*), CONFIDENCE (*confidence*) and ABILITY (*ability*). The ability to do something, perseverance, strength, and confidence correspond to particular characteristics. These concepts match the discussion about the sociocultural features of the American context in Section 4.4.2, namely that strength, confidence and perseverance are the desired properties of individuals.

3. The next concepts related to the American concept of shame are WEAKNESS and FAILURE. WEAKNESS is evoked by two collocates: *impairment* and *weakness*. It is possibly related to the feeling state of shame. FAILURE is handled as a category that includes the following concepts: FAILURE (*failed*, *failures*, *fail*, *failure*), MISTAKE (*mistake*), and REFUSAL (*refused*). It is suggested that these are mainly linked to the causes of shame (i.e., failure in something is a potential cause of shame; making a mistake is a potential cause of shame; being refused is a further possible trigger of the emotion). The concepts

WEAKNESS and FAILURE could be grouped into the category NEGATIVE CONCEPTS as well. Because the discussion about the sociocultural characteristics in section 4.4.2 suggests that WEAKNESS and FAILURE are outstanding concepts in the American context in the sense that they are incompatible with the socially defined expectations of individual goals, they are handled separately from the category NEGATIVE CONCEPTS.

4. CONTROL is a concept further related to SHAME. It is handled as a category to which the following five concepts belong: FIGHT (*fight*, *victories*, *fought*, *defensive*, *erase*, *conflict*, *combat*, *defeat*, *army*, *military* and *conquer*), RESISTANCE (*withstand*), MANNERS (*manners*), MORALITY (*morality* and *morally*), and CONTROL (*ungovernable*). FIGHT is a form of action with an objective of gaining control. MANNERS and MORALITY, as indicated earlier, are tools of pulling one under control. The person is compliant with moral codes and manners. In other words, the person is under the control of these. The concepts in the category control can be thought of as being linked to the feeling state of shame (e.g., in line with the discussion about metaphorical conceptualization, FIGHT is inherent in the SHAME IS AN OPPONENT conceptual metaphor that gives us information about the feeling state of shame). They can further be interpreted as parts of the network of concepts in which the American concept of shame is embedded.

5. Several emotions seem to be linked to shame in the American English database. These are the following: ANGER (*venomous*, *venom*, *upset*, *anger*), FEAR (*feared*, *awe* and *afraid*), GUILT (*guilt*), PRIDE (*pride*), EMBARRASSMENT (*embarrassment*), SADNESS (*sad*), DREAD (*dread*), and RAGE (*rage*). These are discussed as part of the category EMOTIONS. Among these concepts, ANGER seems to be the most closely related to SHAME. This is because the collocate *venomous*, which evokes the concept ANGER, has the highest collocation strength with *shame* among the collocates evoking concepts grouped in the category EMOTIONS. These concepts are either linked to the feeling state of shame (e.g., people tend to fear the consequences of shame scenarios and, therefore, FEAR is part of the feeling state of shame) or to the consequences of shame (e.g., it is possible to interpret anger and rage as masks of shame and, as such, consequences of the emotion). Others (e.g., GUILT and EMBARRASSMENT) are emotions in the network of concepts that shame evokes in the American context.

6. The next concept related to SHAME is BODY. This is handled as a category that includes the following concepts: BODY (*bodily*, *body*), NAKEDNESS (*naked)*, TREMBLE (*trembling*), and BLUSHING (*blush*). While nakedness is a state of the body, trembling and blushing are physiological reactions of the body. BODY is either linked to the feeling state of shame or it is considered as part of the matrix of concepts the American concept of shame evokes.

7. POVERTY (*bankrupt*, *taxes*, *poverty*), STEALING (*stealing*), MARRIAGE (*marrying*, *married*), ADDICTION (*addiction*, *alcoholism*, *drugs*), POVERTY (*poverty*), FERTILITY (*fertile*), OBESITY (*fat*), OCCUPATION (*job*) and AGE (*old*) are further concepts spotted in the American English database. These are grouped in the category SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA, because, on the basis of the findings discussed in Section 6.3, these are potential causes or consequences of shame stemming from the sociocultural characteristics of the American context.

8. VISIBILITY and INVISIBILITY are concepts further related to SHAME. Both are handled as categories. The concepts of the category VISIBILITY are VISIBILITY (*visible*), CONFESSION (*confess*), EXPRESSION (*express*) and PUBLIC (*public*). CONFESSION belongs to this group on the basis of the argument that things confessed are things made visible to others. Inherent in the meaning of EXPRESSION and PUBLIC is the fact that things expressed and made public are visible. The concepts of the category INVISIBILITY are HIDE (*hides* and *hide*) and TABOO (*taboo*). HIDE is listed in the category of INVISIBILITY because the purpose of hiding entities is that they are made invisible. TABOO by definition is something that is not talked about, that is kept a secret and that is handled as being invisible. The concepts of the categories VISIBILITY and INVISIBILITY are related to the feeling state of shame (e.g., if the shame of the person is known to others, PUBLIC is a concept related to the feeling state of shame), to the consequences of shame (e.g., if shame is expressed, EXPRESSION is a concept related to the effects of shame) or the causes of the emotion (e.g., breaking a taboo is a potential source of shame and, therefore, TABOO is a concept possibly related to the cause of the emotion).

9. HEAT, evoked by the collocates *melt* and *warmth*, is the next concept related to SHAME. HEAT as a related concept of SHAME is potentially linked to the finding discussed about the metaphorical understanding of the emotion (Section 6.1.), namely that the SHAME IS HEAT and the SHAME IS A HOT SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphors are salient in the American English corpora.

10. There are several concepts spotted in the American English database that belong to the category COMMUNITY. These are PARENT (*parent*, *parents*), NATION (*national*), FRIEND (*friends*), FAMILY (*families*), and SOCIETY (*society*). Similarly to the findings in the Indian English database, these are considered as part of the network of concepts in which the American concept of shame is embedded.

11. HONOR is a concept further related to SHAME. It is evoked by one collocate: *dishonor*. HONOR is possibly part of the matrix of concepts in which SHAME appears in the American context.

12. A concept identified in the American English database as related to SHAME is COUNSELING. COUNSELING appears as a concept strongly related to SHAME as the collocation strength between the collocate that evokes the concept (*counseling*) and *shame* is the 6th highest in the database. The finding that COUNSELING is related to the American concept of shame is potentially linked to the argument that socially meaningless emotions tend to be repressed in the American context (Boiger, Deyne and Mesquita, 2013). Repressing the emotion does not necessarily make the emotion disappear. Suppressed emotions can lead to mental problems. Counseling and mental health treatment are methods of healing mental problems. These practices are relatively widespread in the American context[29]. According to a survey prepared by the National Alliance on Mental Illness in 2015[30], one out of five adults experience mental illness in a given year in the United States and, compared to other countries with similar statistics, a majority attends counseling sessions at a regular basis.

13. The last concept related to SHAME is SEXUALITY, evoked by the collocate *sexual*. If we consider SEXUALITY as related to (the nakedness of) the body, it is possible to interpret the concept as potentially related to the cause of shame.

6.4.4 Discussion of findings

The collocation analysis of the corpora leads to the identification of 14 concepts related to the Indian concept of shame. Fifteen concepts are detected as related to the American concept of shame. The related concepts of Indian SHAME are WOMAN, CONTROL, TRADITIONS, INVISIBILITY, VISIBILITY, CHARACTERISTICS, NEGATIVE CONCEPTS, RESPECT, SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA, HONOR, COMMUNITY, EMOTIONS, BODY, and LAJJA. The related concepts of American SHAME are NEGATIVE CONCEPTS, CHARACTERISTICS, WEAKNESS, FAILURE, CONTROL, EMOTIONS, BODY, SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA, VISIBILITY, INVISIBILITY, HEAT, COMMUNITY, HONOR, COUNSELING, and SEXUALITY.

The findings suggest that there is a considerable overlap between the concepts related to the Indian and American concepts of shame. It is a similarity that both databases highlight concepts (e.g., GUILT, EMBARRASSMENT, FEAR, SADNESS and MORALITY) that are named as related to shame in expert theories of the emotion as well (discussed in Section 3.1). BODY is a concept the two databases further share as related to SHAME. The concept of body, because of the role of the physiological and bodily experiences in conceptualization, can be conceived as a pillar of the understanding of shame. At the same time, it is plausible to argue that BODY in relation to SHAME is more outstanding in the American context. This is because (1) the number of collocates that evoke BODY is higher in the American English

[29] Source: https://www.nami.org/Press-Media/Survey-Reports
[30] Source: https://www.nami.org/About-NAMI/Publications-Reports/Public-Policy-Reports/State-Mental-Health-Legislation-2015

database (there are 5 collocates in the American English database and only 1 collocate in the Indian English database), and (2) there are further concepts detected in the American English database that are related to SHAME via the concept BODY. One such concept is HEAT, which is detectable as a concept related to SHAME in the American English database, but not in the Indian English database. Considering the metonymical and metaphorical relation of HEAT and SHAME (as discussed in Sections 6.1. and 6.2), HEAT becomes a related concept of SHAME so that it is inherent in the concept BODY. The feeling of shame characteristically accompanies the rise of body temperature.

The Indian English and the American English databases overlap in the sense that they pinpoint mainly negative concepts as related to SHAME. In the Indian English database, the negative concepts tend to relate to the causes or to the feeling state of shame. Examples of the former are the concepts DIRT and POLLUTION. Examples for the latter are the concepts STIGMA or SUFFERING. In the American English database, the negative concepts relate to the feeling state of shame or are parts of the network of concepts SHAME tends to evoke in the American context. In the American English database, the strongest collocate of shame is *repression*. Repression as a form of control, in relation to SHAME, is outstanding in the American context. This suggests that although SHAME is predominantly a negative concept in both contexts, it is prominently negative in the American context. This is further supported by additional negative concepts related to SHAME (e.g., WEAKNESS and FAILURE). WEAKNESS as a concept related to SHAME is not detected in the Indian English database.

A further overlap in the two databases is CONTROL and concepts included in it. MORALITY and MANNERS are concepts related to SHAME in both contexts. These are tools of exercising control: people are compliant with moral codes, manners, norms and rules and, as such, the person is under their control. Differences are detected with respect to further concepts of CONTROL. While the collocates in the Indian English database evoke states of control in which the person is under control (e.g., SUPERVISION, CONFINEMENT, COMPLIANCE), the collocates in the American English database (e.g., FIGHT, RESISTANCE) refer to states of control in which the person attempts to gain control or tries to avoid being pulled under the control of someone else. It is possible that these differences bring us back to the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian and American contexts. In the Indian context, emphasis is placed on compliance with the norms. In the American context, however, individuals are expected to be pro-active and action-oriented. If necessary, they are expected to transform their environment so that it fits their needs instead of conforming to the standards.

The effect of context is further detectable if we look at which concepts are listed in the categories CHARACTERISTICS and SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA in the two databases. With regard to CHARACTERISTICS, the concepts TIMIDITY and INNOCENCE are outstanding in the

Indian English database, while the concepts PERSEVERANCE, STRENGTH and CONFIDENCE dominate the American English database. As discussed in Section 4.4.1, valued characteristics of women in the Indian context are timidity and bashfulness, while strength and perseverance are respected properties in the American setting. With regard to the category SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA, the concepts included in this again reflect features of the contexts. In the Indian English database, for instance, the concepts POVERTY, MARRIAGE and SUICIDE are detected. A further concept, ABUSE, is identified. The concept ABUSE is referred to in several Indian English metaphorical expressions of *shame* analyzed in Section 6.1. In the American database, among others, the concepts OBESITY, ADDICTION and OCCUPATION are identified.

Additional related concepts or categories of concepts that the two databases share are INVISIBILITY, VISIBILITY, COMMUNITY and HONOR. The categories INVISIBILITY and VISIBILITY refer to aspects of conceptualizing SHAME, namely that people tend to hide the emotion (or the cause of the emotion) so that others do not learn about it. The concept COMMUNITY is related to both the Indian and American understandings of SHAME, primarily because – as discussed in Section 3.1 about expert theories of the emotion – it is a social emotion, and the role of the "other" in the SHAME scenario is inherent. The concept COMMUNITY seems to be more related to shame if we consider the number of collocates that evoke the concept in the Indian English database. Eighteen collocates evoke COMMUNITY in the Indian English database, but only eight collocates refer to it in the American English database. It is plausible to suggest that this finding leads us back to the sociocultural features of the Indian context, namely that preference for collectivist values and the dominance of community interest is more characteristic there. HONOR is a further concept the two databases share. This too, however, appears to be somewhat more salient in relation to SHAME in the Indian context because the strength of collocation between *shame* and the collocates (*defame* and *honor*) that evoke the concept HONOR is higher in the Indian English database. Also, RESPECT (a concept inherent in the concept of honor) is identified as related to SHAME in the Indian English database. There are no collocates among the first one hundred in the American English database that evoke the concept of respect. HONOR and RESPECT are linked in the Indian context in the sense that the person without shame (as a negative concept) is a person respected and honored.

The concepts WOMAN, TRADITIONS, and LAJJA are related to the Indian concept of shame. These concepts are not evoked by the first hundred collocates of the American English database. The most closely related concept of the Indian concept of shame is WOMAN. This finding seems to reflect a main characteristic of the Indian sociocultural context, namely, that one's roles, desired properties, life tasks and social relations – the very existence of the individual as part of the community – are based on one's gender. As discussed in Section 6.3, several causes of shame identified in the Indian English database (e.g., widowhood or

pollution) are linked to women. It seems that the concept of woman is part of the cultural model of SHAME (as related to potential causes of shame), and it is part of the matrix of concepts SHAME evokes in the Indian context. The Indian concept of shame, for this reason, can possibly be interpreted as a gender-loaded concept. TRADITION is the second most closely related concept to SHAME in the Indian context. This again reflects characteristics of the Indian context, namely that observing the norms, following the traditions and living a life in adherence with dominant religious philosophies and customs is highly desired. The finding that LAJJA is detected as a concept closely related to the Indian concept of shame supports the discussion in Section 3.1, namely that *lajja* is a focal concept in Indian culture (Menon and Shweder, 2010).

COUNSELING and SEXUALITY are concepts that are referred to by collocates detected in the American English database, but not in the Indian English database. The finding that COUNSELING is related to the American concept of shame possibly reflects characteristics of the American context, namely, that unproductive and injurious emotions tend to be suppressed, which gives rise to the need for treating the resulting mental health issues. Counseling is also a potential cause of shame if asking for help (in the frame of counseling) is viewed as a weakness. The findings of this dissertation do not provide an explanation as to why SEXUALITY is a concept closely related to the American concept of shame, but not to the Indian concept of shame. If it is considered to be a concept related to (the nakedness of) the body, sexuality seems to be inherently related to the concept of shame. It is likely that it is related to the Indian understanding of the concept as well. It is possible, however, that sexuality is a taboo topic in the Indian context to such an extent that it does not come up in the linguistic expressions of shame. This certainly is a hypothesis to be investigated in a language-based study specifically targeting the exploration of the concept of sexuality in the Indian context.

Further differences are detected in which emotions are related to the Indian and American understandings of SHAME. ANGER and RAGE appear in the American English database as emotions tightly related to SHAME. These are not identified in the Indian English corpora. They are either linked to the feeling state of shame (e.g., people tend to fear the consequences of shame scenarios and, therefore, fear is part of the feeling state of shame) or to the consequences of shame (e.g., it is possible to interpret anger and rage as masks of shame and, as such, consequences of the emotion). The collocation analysis suggests that SHYNESS is an emotion closely related to the Indian concept of shame, but not to the American concept. A possible explanation for this is the following: Shyness is a desired value of individuals in the Indian context, and it is less of a negative concept in the American interpretation as it contrasts the respected values (e.g., strength, confidence, perseverance). Shyness can be thought of as a manifestation of one's shame (as a positive concept). Shy forms of behavior are perceived as respectful and honorable and therefore, as

signifiers of one's possessing shame (the positive value referring to the ability to avoid shame, the negative experience). As will be discussed in Chapter 8, the analysis of the cultural models of SHAME reveals that the understanding of shame as a positive value is salient in the Indian context, and the concept of shyness is potentially related to this conception of the emotion.

6.4.5 Summary

The purpose of this section was to identify the concepts related to SHAME in the Indian and the American contexts. The analysis was based on a software-based collocation analysis of the Indian English and American English linguistic expressions of *shame*. This methodology enables us to approach the data objectively. At the same time, subjective decisions were inevitable in the analysis of the results. Fourteen related concepts of SHAME are identified in the Indian English database, and fifteen in the American English database. There is an extensive overlap between the related concepts in the two contexts: negative concepts (e.g., POLLUTION and STIGMA in the Indian English database, REPRESSION and PAIN in the American English database), COMMUNITY, BODY and particular emotion concepts (e.g., EMBARRASSMENT, SADNESS, FEAR). The differences identified are suggested to derive from the sociocultural characteristics of the contexts. The effect of context is palpable in that WOMAN, TRADITION, COMMUNITY, LAJJA and various other concepts (POVERTY, SUICIDE, DOWRY) appear to be closely related to the Indian concept of shame. The finding that WOMAN is the most strongly related concept to Indian SHAME suggests that SHAME is a gender-loaded concept in the Indian context. The concepts of weakness, poverty, fertility or obesity (as a possible causes of shame), as well as strength, perseverance and confidence (as desired individual values) refer to features of the American context. The findings further support the results of scientific approaches discussed in Section 3.1, namely, that concepts related to shame are guilt, embarrassment, fear, sadness and morality. These are concepts related to shame in both the Indian and the American contexts. ANGER is an emotion concept related to the American concept of shame, while SHYNESS is an emotion concept related to the Indian concept of shame.

Chapter 7: The Indian concept of *lajja*

In Chapter 4, it was established that the folk understanding that motivates emotion conceptualization can be considered as a sociocultural feature of the Indian and the American contexts that influences conceptions of shame. The Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics provides a framework for the Indian folk understanding of emotions. To repeat briefly here, in terms of this theory, emotions are seen as components of one's personality (Ramaprasad, 2013). The interaction of main and subsidiary emotions creates virtues in individuals. The theory lists 25 virtues people are expected to live by (Bhawuk, 2017). The 26th virtue is *lajja*, the gatekeeper or the "'Go/No-Go' test in the cultivation of each of the other 25 virtues" (Bhawuk, 2017, p. 115). In the dissertation, the folk understanding of emotions reflecting the Rasa theory is labeled the "Emotion as virtue" cultural model. *Lajja* is linked to the Indian concept of shame primarily through its function as a master value. Whether an act is considered as a breach of rules and, as such, shameful is decided in reference to *lajja*. In the Indian context, the "Emotion as virtue" model is evoked by the conceptualization of SHAME as it is linked to the concept of *lajja*. As briefly discussed in Chapter 3, *lajja* is a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin roughly "translated as shame, modesty, bashfulness, embarrassment, or timidity" (Bhawuk, 2017, p. 112). It is a synonym of the Urdu term, *sharam*.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the concept of *lajja* through Indian English linguistic data. In particular, the focus is on the metaphorical and the metonymical understandings and on the potential causes of the concept. A third objective is to see what network of concepts *lajja* is embedded in. As established in Section 6.4, the collocation analysis of the Indian English database reveals that *lajja* is a related concept of shame. Sinha and Chauhan (2013) also refer to this with the claim that *lajja* "shares a semantic space" with SHAME (p. 142). A fourth objective of this section is to specify the relationship of SHAME and LAJJA, especially in metaphorical linguistic expressions like the ones listed below. In these, *shame* and *lajja* (or *sharam*) are used simultaneously:

- 'National **shame**', **lajja** – this is the sentiment most Indians feel, now that the raped girl has died. The power of this shame has forced a realization even in the mainstream media.
- She not only sported with mendicants and religious seers, she boldly asserted that she intended to do so without **shame** (**loklaaj**) in her poems.
- Much, much longer to stop feeling ashamed. Every day I have to remind myself not to be embarrassed. And I suppose that writing this piece is part of that effort. I try, at least, to run without **shame** and laugh without **shame** and dance without **shame**. But my spine is still bent from having been crushed under the weight of **sharam** for years. I can't get my posture back. Theek hai. I accept my imperfect woman's body.

- **Sharam** karo, **shame** on you, your employee's wife committed suicide after no pay for 6 months. You globetrot and tweet shamelessly. "He spends so much money for tobacco. It is really sad. If he gives all that money for household expenses then the household would run smoothly. When I tell him something then he replies back that I earn and I spend, you don't give me money. What to do? It is a real **shame** (**sharam**) on me and my children."
- If you have any **shame**, "**sharam** rakho" ["keep sharam"].
- When someone dont have money to do things. You dont have money to participate in religious festivals. You borrow from others in order to be able to, fingers point at you if you dont take part. This kind of situation among family members might not cause **shame**, but when exposed to public will cause **sharam**.

These linguistic expressions illustrate the phenomenon code-switching, which is a characteristic of varieties of English used as lingua francas. The speakers use local language terms in English-language communications in order to express the intended meaning. "Code-switching is identified as an accommodation strategy (…) in terms of speakers making the effort to bring in different linguistic resources to expand and clarify meaning" (Jenkins et al., 2017). The use of *lajja* and *sharam* in Indian English linguistic expressions of *shame* are illustrations of code-switching. The Hindi and the Urdu terms are assumed to carry meaning that the English word *shame* is not capable to express (Chawla, 2006, Haqqani, 2011). Identifying the relationship between the Indian concepts of *shame* and *lajja* helps explain why code-switching is used in the Indian English linguistic expressions.

In exploring the concept of *lajja*, a combination of resources is needed. As the number of linguistic expressions of *lajja* and *sharam* in the Indian English corpora is low, data from the corpora need to be supplemented with linguistic data obtained from a survey. 100 speakers of Indian English filled in a survey that aimed to explore *lajja*. Participants were from all over India. The questions of the survey referred to potential definitions, causes, assessment and related concepts of *lajja*, and asked the participants to share a personal experience related to the concept. The questions of the survey and the summary of the demographic data of participants are provided in the Appendix. The linguistic data of *lajja* collected from the Indian English corpus and the survey make the source of the analysis presented in this chapter.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first section addresses the conceptual metaphors that motivate the conceptualization of *lajja*. The elaboration, the productivity, the frequency and the salience of the identified conceptual metaphors is calculated. Table 14, a summary of the findings, is available in the Appendix. The second section examines the metonymical conceptualization of the concept. The productivity, the frequency and the salience of the identified conceptual metonymies is calculated. Table 15, a summary of the findings, is

available in the Appendix. The third section attempts to explore the causes of *lajja*. The fourth section identifies the concepts related to LAJJA. Finally, the fifth section analyzes the relationship between the concepts of shame and *lajja*. It addresses code-switching and explains the phenomenon in light of the findings.

7.1 Indian English metaphors of LAJJA

MIP is applied in identifying the metaphorical linguistic expressions of the database. Altogether eleven conceptual metaphors of LAJJA are identified. The conceptual metaphors are grouped around four main aspects: existence, evaluation, control, and visibility. In contrast with the metaphorical understanding of the Indian concept of shame, the intensity aspect seems to be less outstanding in the understanding of *lajja*. The existence of *lajja* is reflected in the following conceptual metaphors: LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT, BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE, LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER, and LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER. The evaluation of *lajja* is expressed by the BURDEN, the DESIRABLE OBJECT and the JEWEL source domains. It is only the BURDEN source domain that presents a negative understanding of the emotion. The other three source domains represent a positive perception of the concept. The control aspect is central in the meaning focus of the LAJJA IS A TOOL, LAJJA IS A FORCE, and LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT conceptual metaphors. The visibility aspect is reflected in the LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW conceptual metaphor. Let us consider these conceptual metaphors in detail below.

7.1.1 The conceptual metaphors that highlight the existence of LAJJA

This group includes conceptual metaphors the "main theme" (meaning focus[31]) of which is the existence of *lajja*. Four such metaphors are identified in the database: LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT, BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE, LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER, and LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER.

LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT

In terms of the POSSESSED OBJECT source domain, *lajja* is *yours*, it is an object one *has* or one *keeps*. The main meaning focus of the metaphor is the possession of the emotion. There are mappings that refer to the amount of *lajja* one possesses (*have so much sharam*) and also to the length of time one keeps *lajja* (*live with sharam*). The identified metaphorical mappings and the corresponding linguistic expressions are provided below:

The person possessing the object → the person with lajja

[31] In the analysis of the metaphorical understanding of *lajja*, the concept of "meaning focus" is borrowed from Kövecses (2010).

- The *sharam is yours*, unless you address the roots of these attitudes. The Sharam is yours, unless you treat women better from the womb to the grave. The Sharam is yours, if you hide away your daughters until the day they are married in response to these awful crimes.
- *Sharam* is not something caused, it's something you *have*.
- Women *have lajja*.
- She not only sported with mendicants and religious seers, she boldly asserted that she intended to do so *without shame (loklaaj)* in her poems.

Keeping the object → keeping lajja

- If you have any shame, "*sharam rakho*" ["*keep sharam*"].

The length of possessing the object → the length of possessing lajja

- When would man learn to *live with sharam?* We all exist on this planet Earth because of the Power of Mercy, Compassion, and Grace. Techies, software engineers and all others should be ashamed of themselves if they have to violate the very same spirit that protects, preserves, and sustains their own existence.

The amount of the object – the amount of lajja

- A relative of mine married a man in the UK, we are Jat but the guy was a Chamaar. Someone dear to me annoyed me as he said that she will *have so much sharam* when she comes back to India and sees what her husbands relatives and lifestyle are like.

Four systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 10.81%. Seven linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 18.91%. Twenty-one linguistic expression tokens are counted. The token frequency is 19.09%. Overall, the POSSESSED OBJECT is the second most salient source domain of LAJJA (49.62%) in the database.

BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE

The BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE conceptual metaphor expresses the existence of *lajja* so that it presents the state of being in *lajja* in terms of being comprised to a closed space. One systematic correspondence is identified. This is illustrated by the following linguistic expressions:

Being in a bounded space → being in shame

- This caused me to say that she would only be *in sharam* if people like you are around to ridicule her.
- *In lajja,* the person can be elevated if actions match social ideals, but also punished if there is a breach of conduct.

The mapping type frequency of the BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE conceptual metaphors 2.7%. Two linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 18.91%. Twenty-one linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 5.4%. Overall, BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE is the last in terms of salience among the conceptual metaphors of LAJJA identified in the database. The salience of this metaphor is 10.82%.

LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER

Understanding *lajja* as if it was a substance on the container is based on the CONTAINER and the SURFACE image schemas. The container in the corresponding linguistic expressions is typically a person (*you*, *me*), others related to the person (*me and my children*) or group of people (*people*). The identified systematic mappings and the linguistic examples are provided below:

X → container
emotion →substance
substance on the container → emotion on X

- *Sharam karo, shame on you,* your employee's wife committed suicide after no pay for 6 months. You globetrot and tweet shamelessly.
- *Sharam on you* people. You people should be sent to jail for making illegal money and looting innocent people.
- He spends so much money for tobacco. It is really sad. If he gives all that money for household expenses then the household would run smoothly. When I tell him something then he replies back that I earn and I spend, you don't give me money. What to do? It is a real *shame (sharam) on me and my children.*
- Freedom of religion, freedom of speech— A fatwa issued on Taslima Nisreen— *Lajja on you*, leaders of Bangladesh— Women Prime Ministers allow abuse of women— Journalists Without Borders condemns you—Never let fundamentalists rule!

Three systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 8.1%. Three linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 8.1%. Twelve

linguistic expression tokens are counted. The token frequency is 10.9%. Overall, the SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER is the six[th] most salient source domain of LAJJA (27.1%) in the database.

LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER

The SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER source domain expresses the forceful character of the Indian concept of shame. In the case of *lajja*, however, it simply depicts the existence of the emotion. The LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor does not present *lajja* as a forceful entity. Much rather, *lajja* is a substance which either exists or does not exist in the container (*has no sharam in him*). The source domain SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER has more simple and a significantly smaller number of systematic mappings with the target domain *lajja* than with the target domain SHAME. The identified mappings are the following:

X → container
emotion → substance
the substance inside the container → the emotion in X

- By grasping and coming to possess this godgiven *lajja within* herself, Monomohini blends herself into the essence of the bhadramahila.

the substance not inside the container → the emotion not in X

- Looks like the 2nd rate Indian has got *no sharam in him*.

the container is filled with the substance → the person is filled with the emotion

- The fact that a white guy speaks better Punjabi than me really I just I'm *filled with sharam*.
- On seeing the rishis the goddess was *filled with lajja* (bashful modesty) and moved away from the Lord.
- To be *full of lajja* is to possess the virtue of behaving in a civilized manner and in such a way that the social order and its norms are upheld.

Five systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 13.51%. Four linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 10.81%. Seven linguistic expression tokens are counted. The token frequency is 6.36%. Overall, the SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER is the four[th] most salient source domain of LAJJA (30.68%) in the database.

7.1.2 The conceptual metaphors that highlight the evaluation of LAJJA

This group consists of conceptual metaphors the "main theme" (meaning focus) of which is the evaluation of *lajja* (Kövecses, 2010). Three conceptual metaphors are identified in the database: LAJJA IS A BURDEN, LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT, and LAJJA IS A JEWEL.

LAJJA IS A BURDEN

Understanding *lajja* in terms of the BURDEN source domain is based on our knowledge that the heavy objects people carry tend to weigh them down. This experience is perceived negatively and, therefore, this metaphor gives a negative evaluation of *lajja*. The following linguistic examples illustrate the systematic correspondences that are identified:

The burden → the emotion
The body crushing under the weight of the burden → X crushed by the emotion

- Much, much longer to stop feeling ashamed. Every day I have to remind myself not to be embarrassed. And I suppose that writing this piece is part of that effort. I try, at least, to run without shame and laugh without shame and dance without shame. But my spine is still bent from having been *crushed under the weight of sharam* for years. I can't get my posture back. Theek hai. I accept my imperfect woman's body.

The weight of the burden → The weight of the emotion

- Her pale face, the weight of her clothing (which represents *the weight of lajja* that society cloaks a woman with, the weight which she has to shed in order to own her womanhood, her own true nature, devoid of imposed identity), her heavy-lidded eyes, her red-red lips, her steamy hair, her dewy skin, her tiredness ' all so beautiful!

Three systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 8.1%. Two linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 5.04%. Two linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 1.81%. Overall, the BURDEN is the ninth most salient source domain of LAJJA (14.95%) in the database.

LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT

Related to the POSSESSED OBJECT source domain, the DESIRED OBJECT source domain expresses that the possession of *lajja* is valued. As such, this metaphor highlights the positive evaluation of the concept. People who *have lajja* are evaluated positively, whereas people who *are besharam* are perceived negatively because they should have *lajja*. *Lajja* in particular cases is more than desired, it is a *must* (*for women in India*). The following linguistic examples illustrate the systematic correspondences that are identified:

the object → the emotion
the person possessing the object → the person having the emotion (positive)

- People who *have sharam* ensure that they don't do anything which would affect their honour and the family honour.
- Why did I say Indian women dont blog like this? Because they *have sharam*. They are too mature to behave like a teen. This lady does not have any self respect.
- In Delhi, Mamata was looking ahead. "We have been winning every election, so the indication is clear enough… I don't think the government should stay even for a day. It's a great victory. If they *have lajja*, ghrina, bhoy (shame, hatred and fear), they will move and let people work," she said.
- *Sharam* in our language is *lajja*, every human being *should have*.
- From my childhood i was told in some cases Not to be that, not to do that etc, just to put full stop on that particular thing. In answer to my queries it came like "Sharam". If u *donot have it* their will be fingers pointing at you, judging you-

the person has to possess the object → the person has to possess the emotion

- [Sharam is] shyness, basically women are not supposed to be in front of men, they *need to have shyness*, they need to protect their body parts.
- In case of women "*sharam*" is a kind of *must* in India. It is negative, because it is giving way to oppression and injustice.

the person has to learn to possess the object → the person has to learn to possess the emotion

- You have to learn to *have lajja* as a child.

the person not possessing the object → the person not having emotion (negative)

- One time I was with my family once and this one young male who I was at school with, said "hello", and do you know? I got a slap for that, and all he had said was "hello". And then it was, "*besharam," have you got no shame*? What are you talking to him for? You should only be talking to girls.

Five systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 13.51%. Six linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 16.21%. Thirty-seven linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 33.63%. Overall, the DESIRABLE OBJECT is the most salient source domain of LAJJA (65.15%) in the database.

LAJJA IS A JEWEL

The LAJJA IS A JEWEL conceptual metaphor is identified in the survey responses of the Indian participants. The metaphorical understanding in terms of the JEWEL source domain indicates a highly positive evaluation of *lajja*. Its meaning focus is similar to that of the DESIRABLE OBJECT source domain, in terms of which the possession of *lajja* is respected. *Lajja* here is an ornament and a decoration, especially, of women. The metaphor is based on perceived similarity as it is the properties of the jewel (precious, desired, beautiful and eye-catching) that are compared to the properties of women in possession of *lajja*. The source domain highlights the visibility aspect of the conceptualization. The possession of *lajja* is as visible to others as the eye-catching ornaments are.

The following linguistic expressions and mappings are identified:

The jewel → the emotion
The woman/person possessing the jewel → the woman/person possessing the emotion

- Sharam is a *jewel of a woman*.
- Sharam is *everyone's jewel*, should be.

The woman/person decorated with the jewel → the woman/person decorated with the emotion

- Our culture is not permit to for get it, lajja is *human decoration*.
- Sharam is considered as an *ornament for females*.

Three systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A JEWEL conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 8.1%. Three linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 8.1%. Four linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 3.63%. Overall, the JEWEL is the seventh source domain of LAJJA (19.83%) in terms of salience in the database.

7.1.3 The conceptual metaphors of control

This group is built up of conceptual metaphors the "main theme" (meaning focus) of which is that *lajja* is a force that exercises control (Kövecses, 2010). Three conceptual metaphors of this type are identified: LAJJA IS A FORCE, LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT, and LAJJA IS A TOOL.

LAJJA IS A FORCE

The LAJJA IS A FORCE conceptual metaphor depicts *lajja* as a forceful entity. The linguistic expressions of the LAJJA IS A FORCE conceptual metaphor present the emotion as a driving force that *persuades* or *allows* people to perform various acts. The systematic mappings and the corresponding examples and the following:

force → shame
object → X
what the force does to the object (exerts control) → what the emotion does to X (exerts control)

- *Sharam persuades* young women that they should marry according to their parents' wishes, and in some cases, to continue to live within an unwanted marriage.
- Stuck between my body and the person inside, *lajja makes* me do a few too many things I otherwise wouldn't do. Today, because of this *lajja*, I have to speak anonymously, keeping the 'true' self in my body locked away somewhere, hoping no one will notice I've opened my mouth out of place.
- Another great benefit of *lajja* is that it *does not allow* a woman to take the wrong path.

Five systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A FORCE conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 13.51%. Three linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 8.1%. Ten linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 9.09%. Overall, the FORCE is the third most salient source domain of LAJJA in the database. The salience of the LAJJA IS A FORCE conceptual metaphor is 30.7%.

LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT

The forceful character of *lajja* is further indicated by the OPPONENT source domain. As it is illustrated by the following linguistic expressions, the OPPONENT source domain depicts the target domains SHAME and LAJJA in different ways. In the case of the SHAME IS AN OPPONENT conceptual metaphor, the emotion and the person oppose each other. The person fighting shame is in a balanced state. It is the objective of the emotion to exercise control over the person and make him/her imbalanced. In the case of the LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT conceptual metaphor, however, *lajja* and the person in an unbalanced state are the participants of the scenario. The person is unbalanced under the effect of another emotion (e.g., rage or desire), and the objective of *lajja* is to restore the balance of the person. *Lajja*, in contrast with shame, is not a force opposing the person. It is a force supporting and protecting the person. It is force aiming to keep the balance of the person. The objective of *lajja* is to prevent the imbalanced person from inappropriate acts (e.g. *rampage*, *being unfaithful*). The victory of *lajja* does not lead to an emotional state for the person in which the person loses control. It leads to an emotional state in which the person again has control. As such, LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT is a conceptual metaphor that indicates a positive evaluation of the concept.
The following systematic correspondences and linguistic expressions are identified:

Opponent 1 → X/the activity X does/the thoughts X has/the state X is in
Opponent 2 → the emotion
Opponent 2 gains control over opponent 1→ the emotion gains control over X

- At the gods' behest, Siva lies down in front of Kali, who steps on him. She is *overcome with "lajja"* (shame and respectful restraint) at stepping on her lord and stops her rampage. Potentially, she had the power to continue killing, and Shiva did not actually have the power to stop her. But she voluntarily controlled her own power and it is thus is subservient to Shiva here. In this way, Hindu women are encouraged to believe that voluntarily submission is their duty.
- During one such argument between her and another family member, i said that the argument is something else and you should both sit down and resolve the matter. Now this lady thought i had the same sharam as her so called me up on the what problem i thought they were having and i wasted no time in saying that if you were having an affair its time to be honest about it so that you can decide whether you would like to stay in the village or go back to your fathers village. This lady started to cry and said you have no sharam and i retorted well where was your sharam when you were having an affair. The other family member remained silent he too was *overcome with sharam*, and the situation remains unresolved because of sharam and they all continue to bicker. She is afraid to go back to the fathers village because of sharam but she clearly has none she got involved with someone else.

Lajja as an opponent is an internal force. A prerequisite of the functioning of *lajja* as an internal force is that the person possesses *lajja* (LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT and LAJJA IS A DESIRED OBJECT conceptual metaphors). If the person does not possess *lajja* (LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER), *lajja* cannot prevent the inappropriate actions of the individual (LAJJA IS A FORCE and LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT). This is illustrated by the second linguistic expression above (*where was your sharam when you were having an affair*). If absent, LAJJA cannot govern one's actions. In the absence of *lajja*, the person becomes shameless. Approaching *lajja* this way, the metaphorical understanding of the concept in terms of the LAJJA IS A DESIRED OBJECT, LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, LAJJA IS A FORCE and LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT conceptual metaphors is interwoven.

Three systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 8.1%. One linguistic expression type is found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 2.7%. Four linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 3.63%. Overall, the OPPONENT is the last but one source domain of LAJJA in the database with a salience of 14.43%.

LAJJA IS A TOOL

The LAJJA IS A TOOL conceptual metaphor underlies linguistic expressions that describe what purpose *lajja* is *used* for and how it becomes a tool in achieving particular purposes. The corresponding linguistic expressions name *lajja* as a TOOL that helps maintain the society, build a strong family, and behave in line with the norms.

The following systematic mappings and linguistic examples are identified:
the tool → the emotion
the purpose the tool is used for → the purpose the emotion is used for

- As a governing concept lajja has *its use* to maintain a society.
- It is positive, because sharam *gives you reassurance* on the way to building a strong family.
- Growing up as a girl in India, you learn the meaning of this word [sharam] at a very young age, you are *drilled about this* and you are never allowed to forget it.

Two systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A TOOL conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 5.4%. Three linguistic expression types are detected. The linguistic expression type frequency is 8.1%. Three linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 2.72%. Overall, the TOOL is the eight in salience in the database with a salience of 16.22%.

7.1.4 The conceptual metaphors that highlight the visibility of LAJJA

There is one conceptual metaphor in the database the "main theme" (meaning focus) of which is the visibility of *lajja*: LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW.

LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW

The LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW conceptual metaphor indicates that *lajja* is a value that is to express openly. The identified linguistic expressions illustrate that this understanding largely applies to women. Also, the expression of *lajja* as a virtue is manifest in particular forms of behavior and ways of clothing. Among others, women who have *lajja* do not show their skin inappropriately and they cover their faces. Additional behavioral manifestations of the LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW conceptual metaphor are metonymic understandings of the concept - e.g. LACK OF TALKING and NOT WEARING PARTICULAR CLOTHES STAND FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA - to be discussed in the next section. The conceptual metaphor LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW, in essence, is related to the LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT metaphor: One can express *lajja* only if one has *lajja*.

The identified linguistic expressions provide additional information about the concept of *lajja*. They illustrate that the meaning of *lajja* overlaps with modesty, pride, dignity, shyness, and reservedness. The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

the substance → the emotion
the substance shown to others → the emotion visible to others

- A woman *shows lajja* by *covering her face* or *leaving the room* to avoid talking to her husband's elder brother or father, or another man to whom he should defer.

the substance must be shown to others → the emotion has to be visible to others

- Family honour is important and especially girls *must show sharam* (decent modesty).
- *Layja* is our pride, it *must be shown*. Basically *women are not supposed to show their skin*. It might be injurious to their health, hence, they need to protect their dignity or **s**hyness which according to Indian culture every woman should be **coy** and demure, it is used in a positive connotation.

Three systematic correspondences of the LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW conceptual metaphor are identified. The mapping type frequency is 8.1%. Three linguistic expression types are found. The linguistic expression type frequency is 8.1%. Seven linguistic expression tokens are counted in the database. The token frequency is 6.36%. Overall, the SUBSTANCE TO SHOW is the fifth in salience in the database (22.56%).

7.1.5 Discussion of findings

Overall, the metaphorical interpretation of *lajja* is diverse. A fewer number of conceptual metaphors can be identified than for the Indian concept of shame, however. This is probably because the linguistic database available for exploring the interpretation of *lajja* is smaller.

The first main finding is that metaphorical linguistic expressions reveal two fundamental interpretations of *lajja*. One says that *lajja* is an inherent value of individuals that serves and supports their balance and social function. In this view, *lajja* is a positive concept. This seems to be the most central conception of *lajja*, as the LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor has the highest salience in the database. *Lajja* works as an internal force, which gets activated when individuals act, think or live in ways that is not compliant with the value system. In this sense, *lajja* is in fact the internalized version of the values that dominate the sociocultural context. Internalizing the values, the individuals function under the control of those in everyday situations and overall ways of living. These values are, on the one hand, the ones listed in Rasa theory, and, on the other hand, the ones rooted in the features of the sociocultural context. Examples for the former are, for instance, compassion

for all beings (absence of greed), moral power, and absence of seeking any attention or importance, the ability to calm the mind or non-anger. Examples for the latter are, among others, the main features of the Indian sociocultural context, namely that the interest of the community is in the foreground and conformity is particularly stressed. As discussed in Section 4.4.1, the values listed in Rasa theory and the sociocultural features of the Indian context overlap because the desired values support compliance with the norms. The majority of the identified conceptual metaphors illustrate this conceptualization of LAJJA: LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW, LAJJA IS A JEWEL, and LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT. Particular metaphorical linguistic expressions motivated by the BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE and LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphors further indicate this conception of LAJJA. The following examples serve as an illustration:

- *In lajja*, the person can be elevated if actions match social ideals, but also punished if there is a breach of conduct.
- To be *full of lajja* is to possess the virtue of behaving in a civilized manner and in such a way that the social order and its norms are upheld.

The linguistic expressions also depict *lajja* as a negative concept. The negative interpretation is manifest in two ways. In the first, *lajja* appears as a synonym of *shame* (shame as a negative concept). The following examples illustrate this:

- *Sharam on* you people. You should be sent to jail for making illegal money and looting innocent people.
- Freedom of religion, freedom of speech— A fatwa issued on Taslima Nisreen— *Lajja on you*, leaders of Bangladesh— Women Prime Ministers allow abuse of women— Journalists Without Borders condemns you—Never let fundamentalists rule!

Lajja is the consequence and the evaluation of the inappropriate action. It is the consequence in the sense that *lajja* is placed *on* the person as a result of doing something inappropriate. It is the evaluation of the inappropriate action in the sense that *sharam* and *lajja* in the examples have a negative connotation.

The second interpretation of *lajja* as a negative concept is related to *lajja* as a value. As discussed, *lajja* as a value is essentially the internalization of the norms and expectations that dominate the Indian sociocultural context. It is the internalized version of these, manifested as a value in the individual. In this view, *lajja* is seen negatively if compliance with the social (and gender-based) expectations it represents is considered a burden, and not a virtue. This understanding is illustrated by the LAJJA IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor, as well as by further metaphorical linguistic expressions motivated by other conceptual

metaphors (e.g., a LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT). The linguistic expressions illustrate that *lajja* in this understanding is related to the concepts like INJUSTICE and OPPRESSION:

- Her pale face, the weight of her clothing (which represents *the weight of lajja* that society cloaks a woman with, the weight which she has to shed in order to own her womanhood, her own true nature, devoid of imposed identity), her heavy-lidded eyes, her red-red lips, her steamy hair, her dewy skin, her tiredness ' all so beautiful!
- In case of women "*sharam*" is a kind of *must* in India. It is negative, because it is giving way to oppression and injustice.

Considering the salience of the LAJJA IS A BURDEN conceptual metaphor in the database (it is only the 8th in salience), it appears that the understanding of *lajja* as a negative concept is peripheral in comparison to the positive evaluation of the concept.

The second main finding of the analysis is that *lajja* seems to be inherently related to WOMEN. Several metaphorical linguistic expressions indicate the link between the two concepts, among others, the following:

- Women *have lajja*. (LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT)
- Her pale face, the weight of her clothing (which represents *the weight of lajja* that society cloaks a woman with, the weight which she has to shed in order to own her womanhood, her own true nature, devoid of imposed identity), her heavy-lidded eyes, her red-red lips, her steamy hair, her dewy skin, her tiredness ' all so beautiful! (LAJJA IS A BURDEN)
- In case of women "*sharam*" is a kind of *must* in India. It is negative, because it is giving way to oppression and injustice. (LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT)
- *Sharam persuades* young women that they should marry according to their parents' wishes, and in some cases, to continue to live within an unwanted marriage. (LAJJA IS A FORCE)
- Growing up as a girl in India, you learn the meaning of this word [sharam] at a very young age, you are *drilled about this* and you are never allowed to forget it. (LAJJA IS A TOOL)

There are conceptual metaphors that motivate the understanding of LAJJA as a specifically gender-loaded concept. Conceptual metaphors of this kind are, for instance, LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW and LAJJA IS A JEWEL. The latter is a potential candidate for unique metaphorical conceptualization (Kövecses, 2005) in the following sense. As a culture-specific concept, *lajja* can be interpreted as a culturally unique target domain. The source domain JEWEL is potentially unique in the sense that it does not seem to motivate the metaphorical understanding of other emotion concepts. This, however, is certainly an

intuition-based statement unsupported by research results. The findings about the relation of *lajja* and WOMEN are in line with the literature. As Sinha and Chauhan (2013) explain, *lajja* is a "key marker of Indian womanhood" (p. 140).

7.2 Indian English metonymies of LAJJA

The second section of Chapter 7 discusses the metonymical conceptualization of *lajja*. The modified MIP is applied in the identification of metonymical linguistic expressions. Nine conceptual metonymies are identified in the database. In the discussion, the productivity, the frequency and the salience of the conceptual metonymies are also addressed. As discussed in Chapter 5, the elaboration of conceptual metonymies cannot be calculated because the number of systematic correspondences that build up conceptual metonymies is fix (it is always 1).

7.2.1 PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION

In the database, one conceptual metonymy of this type is identified: BLUSHING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA.

BLUSHING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA

The conceptual metonymy BLUSHING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA is a subtype of the conceptual metonymy, INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR THE EMOTION. It provides a more specific conceptualization in the sense that it sees the effect of the rise of body temperature on the face. The reddening of the face (blushing) as a physiological manifestation of *lajja* motivates the BLUSHING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA conceptual metonymy. The corresponding linguistic expressions illustrate that this is a valued and respected "symptom" because it presupposes the possession of *lajja*, the desired value. As this is a metonymic correspondence, the following one systematic mapping is identified:

blushing → (the possession of) the emotion

The following linguistic expressions illustrate this conceptual metonymy:

- I could see K blushing, making her *cheeks go from pink to red* and she covered her face with her hands. This was the beauty of Indian women, their art and style of *having* 'sharm' and '*lajja*' (feeling shy and *blushing* at such moments).

- They can't resist so they come here to read chup ke se thinking they'll make a comment later but after reading the first paragraph, they either *go red with sharam* or some who do not have our sahen shakti just fall unconscious for about an hour.

The BLUSHING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA conceptual metonymy is the fourth in salience in the database. The salience is 39.5%. Two metonymical linguistic expression types and three metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 18.18%, while the token frequency is 8.82%.

7.2.2 BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION

Two conceptual metonymies of this type are identified in the database: APPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA and INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA. The vehicle entity BEHAVIOR is a generalization of the BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION vehicle entity. These conceptual metonymies provide an interpretation that stem from general forms of behavior that reflect the possession of *lajja*, instead of referring to on-the-spot, immediate behavioral reactions. The next section looks at these in detail.

7.2.2.1 APPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA

Five conceptual metonymies of APPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) are identified in the database:

RESPECTFUL BEHAVIOR WITH THE ELDERS STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION) OF LAJJA

- *You know, elders have a special place in the family. You cannot ill manner around them.* “Sharam” is positive – young people have a feeling of "Sharam" *in front of elders*.
- Sharam is what or *how we behave with elders*, we need to *treat them with respect*, maintain a dignity before them.

COVERING THE BODY STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA

- *Ghoongat* (Veil) is used by Indian women to *cover their face* mostly in rural areas. It's a *symbol of lajja*, a *sign* of respect for their male relatives. Frequently, women who observe *ghunghat* are required to *keep their head* and *face covered* in all weather conditions, including while cooking on chulha at 44 degrees Celsius (if there are men around). Also, while traveling, working in fields or during family

functions. Not observing ghunghat maybe seen as being disrespectful and *shameless*.

- "Lajja" makes a daughter-in-law *hide her face* from her father-in-law, or a woman hide her face generally in public (with a practiced pull of the edge of her sari - the typical clothing worn by women, and designed to meet such needs), lest she come across as too sexually provocative.

LACK OF TALKING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA

- Me and my sister were told *not to talk* too much, *stay silent* in most of the conversations, talk only when asked directly, which almost never happens. Laughing out loud is also frowned upon. Mother always reminds us what is appropriate and what is not. This is how *lajja is kept*. Our brother can join the conversations, which honestly is total unfair.

NOT WEARING PARTICULAR CLOTHES STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA

- My in-laws wanted me to *wear short clothes like short pants etc in front of my father in law and servant*. I mean there were four males in the family. And Indian tradition still has some *sharm* that *girls are not comfortabel to wear such clothes before parents specially in-laws*. That caused a drift.

These conceptual metonymies represent behaviors that are accepted and desired in the Indian context. As they meet the expectations, they are manifestations of cases when the individual has *lajja* (as a value) and acts accordingly. Linguistic examples point to contextual features: (1) the role of the elderly is highly important in the family (respectful behavior is a sign that the individual has *lajja*), and (2) there are social situations with gender-based expectations regarding behavior. Women, for instance, are often not allowed to take part in conversations between male family members and non-relative men (Bose and Varghese, 2001, p. 160). Similarly, there are expectations regarding clothing, again, primarily for women. Hiding the body, the face or the head are of symbolic significance (Tarlo, 1996). In the practice of *ghoongat* (or *ghunghat*), women are expected to cover their body because of the belief that their values have to be protected in order for them to be respected. The cover of the body is a symbol of the protection of female values. The women in cover are the ones who live by the norms and, thus, have *lajja*. Those uncovered tend to be perceived as shameless. The linguistic expressions suggest that women's practice of *ghoongat* gains meaning in relation to men. As Chowdhury (2014) explains, women have to hide their bodies from men and in respect for men.

Among these four conceptual metonymies, COVERING THE BODY STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA is the most salient conceptual metonymy of LAJJA in the database. Its salience is 60.09%. Two metonymical linguistic expression types and one metonymical linguistic expression are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 18.18%, while the token frequency is 12.5%. LACK OF TALKING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA is the third most salient conceptual metonymy of *lajja* in the database. Its salience is 42.44%. Two metonymical linguistic expression types and four metonymical linguistic expressions are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 18.18%, while the token frequency is 12.5%. RESPECTFUL BEHAVIOR WITH THE ELDERS STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION) OF LAJJA is the sixth in salience in the database. Its salience is 30.41%. One metonymical linguistic expression type and one metonymical linguistic expression are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 9.09%, while the token frequency is 12.5%. NOT WEARING PARTICULAR CLOTHES STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA the seventh in salience in the database. Its salience is 24.53%. One metonymical linguistic expression type and one metonymical linguistic expression are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 9.09%, while the token frequency is 12.5%.

7.2.2.2 INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA

Three conceptual metonymies of INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA are identified in the database:

DOING ROMANCE IN FRONT OF A RELATIVE STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA

- You are *doing romance* with your girl friend openly *in front of senior or relative*, it is called *besharam*.

BEING MARRIED TO ANOTHER CASTE OR RELIGION STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA

- One of my *sibling married in to another caste/religion*. As per Religion it was *a moral crime to be ashamed of*. As for Family; by marrying into another religion brought shame to the family for improper upbringing. So Religious/Moral values were involved: Sharam. Legally this so called *shameful act* cut her off from inheritance as my *parents disowned her*.

WOMEN TALKING TO MALE NON-RELATIVES STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA

- *A lady trying to speak to unknown person of other sex* is *sharam*.

The three conceptual metonymies are related to the APPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA conceptual metonymy in the sense that they give a meaning opposite to that. Disrespectful behavior with the elders (e.g., doing romance in front of them) or women speaking with non-relative men are manifestations of not possessing *lajja*.

Similarly, forms of marriage not matching the norms (marriage with someone from another cast or religion) are further indications of one not possessing *lajja*.

BEING MARRIED TO ANOTHER CASTE OR RELIGION STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA is the second in salience in the database. Its salience is 45.12%. One metonymical linguistic expression type and one metonymical linguistic expression are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 9.09%., while the token frequency is 12.5%. WOMEN TALKING TO MALE NON-RELATIVES STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA is the fifth in salience in the database. Its salience is 33.35%. Similarly to the previous conceptual metonymy, one metonymical linguistic expression type and one metonymical linguistic expression are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 9.09%., while the token frequency is 12.5%. The salience of the conceptual metonymy DOING ROMANCE IN FRONT OF A RELATIVE STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA is among the last in the database with a salience of 24.53%. Again, one metonymical linguistic expression type and one metonymical linguistic expression are identified. The linguistic expression type frequency is 9.09%., while the token frequency is 12.5%.

7.2.3 Discussion of findings

As opposed to the metonymical interpretation of the Indian concept of shame, only one conceptual metonymy type is identified among the metonymical linguistic expressions of *lajja*: the EFFECT OF EMOTION STANDS FOR EMOTION. The metonymical interpretation of the emotion happens primarily through the physiological and behavioral reactions triggered by *lajja*. As opposed to the metonymical understanding of SHAME, where the interpretation is based on the individual's reaction to shame, the conceptual metonymies of *lajja* are conceptualizations related to the possession or lack of *lajja*. That is, they originate from physiological reactions and forms of behavior that are motivated by the possession or lack of LAJJA as a positive value. They illustrate the presence or absence of *lajja* as a value. The fact that the physiology of *lajja* plays hardly any part in conceptualization suggests that the meaning of the concept is derived much more from its socially assigned meaning than from bodily sensations. The role of the body is essential, however. It is the culturally assigned meanings of the bodily expressions of *lajja* that serve as the basis of the metonymical understandings of the emotion.

The concept WOMAN is particularly emphasized in the metonymical understanding of the *lajja*. The majority of the identified conceptual metonymies - COVERING THE BODY STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA, LACK OF TALKING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA, NOT WEARING PARTICULAR CLOTHES STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA, and WOMEN TALKING TO MALE NON-RELATIVES STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA – present the concept in relation to the concept of woman.

7.3 The causes of *lajja*

The potential causes of *lajja* need to be approached differently, depending on which meaning of the concept is referred to. It is argued that in case of *lajja* as an inherent value of the individual that serves and supports the individual's balance and social function, no cause can be identified. There is no particular cause of *lajja* to name, as (in line with the teachings of Rasa) *lajja* (as a value) must be inherently present in everyone, and especially in those who have been brought up and have lived in a context permeated with this philosophy. The following answers in the survey in relation to the potential causes of *lajja* also suggest this:

- It's [lajja] not something caused, it's something you have.
- "sharam" and "lajja" cannot be caused as they appear automatically with your character.
- [Lajja] is an integral and corrective part of one's own identity.

In this interpretation of *lajja*, the causes we can identify are the reasons why *lajja* as a "Go/No go," constructive force is activated (Bhawuk, 2017). These are essentially the causes pointed out in various metonymical interpretations of the concept. Particular ways of thinking, behavior and living violate the traditions and the values. The cause of *lajja* as a "Go/No go" force is any potential situation in which the individual thinks or behaves in a way that does not match the norms (Bhawuk, 2017). In this case, *lajja*, if present inside the individual, is a force that pulls back the person and motivates him/her to perform appropriate forms of action. Clothing practices that cover the body appropriately, respectful behavior (with the relatives and in particular communicative situations with the opposite gender), and life choices in accordance with the norms (marriage in line with the parents' wishes) are all instantiations of *lajja* stopping one from acting inappropriately and in ways that drive condemn, dishonor and disrespect. Similarly to the conceptualization of LAJJA as a value, it is not possible to identify causes in the understanding of *lajja* as a burden either. The meaning of *lajja* as a burden derives from the negative interpretation of the rules and expectations.

It is possible to name the causes of *lajja* if *lajja* is understood as a synonym of *shame* (the negative concept). The identification of causes of *lajja* is possible with the manual analysis of linguistic expressions. The causes of *lajja* as a synonym of shame point to 5 concepts. These are WOMEN, FAMILY, COMMUNITY, MARRIAGE, and MONEY. With respect to WOMEN, the following causes of *lajja* are named in the database: the inability to protect women, and inappropriate or violent behavior with women. The linguistic expressions that illustrate these are the following:

- Wrong behaviour to women is *sharam*.
- *Sharam* is being not able to protect girls.
- So, all you girls who have at some point faced problems, then don't fear – Shed the Shame and Share. Let Lajja diaries know your story of discrimination, abuse or violence which will help some other woman to gain strength who are quiet and simmering inside!

With respect to FAMILY, inappropriate behavior and exclusion from the family events are named as potential causes of *lajja*. The corresponding linguistic expressions are the following:

- So then it's not her choice to wear the pallu on her head or not. Effectively, her choice is to either wear the pallu on her head and *keep lajja* or be excluded from family events.

With respect to COMMUNITY, going against the norms is highlighted. The following linguistic expression reflects this:

- Some one with ill manners, some one who cannot walk with the society does not *have sharam*.

With respect to MARRIAGE, the community values and traditions are again in the foreground. Intercaste marriage, marriage to someone from a Scheduled Caste/lower caste or love marriage are named as potential causes of *lajja*. The linguistic expressions below refer to these:

- Mine is an intercaste marriage and my family was much affected much due to my *besharam* act.
- When my brother had married to other lower caste girl and we have to *sharam* for his way.

With respect to MONEY, poverty and, as a consequence, the inability to participate in particular seasonal traditions are named as potential causes of *lajja*. The corresponding linguistic expression is the following:

- When someone dont have money to do things. You dont have money to participate in religious festivals. You borrow from others in order to be able to, fingers point at you if you dont take part. This kind of situation among family members might not cause shame, but when exposed to public will *cause sharam*.

It is suggested that the identified causes are of three types. The first type of cause comes from reprehensible action (e.g., lack of protection, abuse, violence). The second type of

cause is related to inappropriateness with respect to community values (e.g., marriage). The third type causes *lajja* (as a synonym of *shame*) because others learn about it (e.g., borrow money). The linguistic expressions that name potential causes of *lajja* show that *lajja* does not necessarily apply to the individual only but also to those related to the individual (i.e., family). The following linguistic expressions illustrate this:

- When my brother had married to other lower caste girl and we have to *sharam* for his way.
- He spends so much money for tobacco. It is really sad. If he gives all that money for household expenses then the household would run smoothly. When I tell him something then he replies back that I earn and I spend, you don't give me money. What to do? It is a real *shame (sharam) on me and my children*.

These seem to illustrate the sociocultural feature of the Indian context, namely that people are interdependent and the community is in the foreground.

The identified causes of *lajja* (as a synonym of *shame* as a negative concept) correspond to the following cause types identified by Krawczak (2014): social norm violation, social failure and dubious social status. Most of the identified causes are violations of social norms: forms of marriage against the norms, "ill manners," and exclusion from the family. Poverty is a form of social failure. The causes related to women mostly stem from the dubious social status of women. As discussed in Chapter 4, gender roles and gender relations are considerably fixed in the Indian sociocultural context. Several linguistic expressions depict the status of women as minor and dubious. The following two excerpts from the Indian English database illustrate this:

- *Lajja* is the Hindi word for 'shame,' a word we girls in India learn to hear, accept, and are made to hurt with since we begin to make sense of things. Just to give the smallest example: Often a woman employee is expected to go get tea. Or if a woman is having trouble at work, she is asked to go speak to a 'senior', when she is a 'senior' herself! These are little things, but they happen all the time.
- Couple that with very restrictive roles for women in the traditional folklore and itihasas, the concepts of "*lajja* bhushana stri" and "pati vrat" etc, the fact that most brides go to live with their mother -in- laws after marriage and the whole saas-bahu dynamic, the very vocal preference for giving birth to sons (and the ma-beta borderline Oedipus relationship that ensues), etc, etc, etc... the whole psycho-socio-cultural set-up in that country is stacked against women.

7.4 Concepts related to LAJJA

The same methodology is applied in identifying the related concepts of *lajja* as in identifying the related concepts of shame. A collocation analysis of the linguistic data of *lajja* and *sharam* (lexical items evoking LAJJA) is performed with the help of the AntConc online software. It is suggested that the lexical items that have a strong association with *lajja and sharam* in the database denote concepts that are strongly related to LAJJA. Only collocates of *lajja* and *sharam* with an MI-score of minimum 3 are considered in the analysis. The first hundred collocates are examined. Only those collocates are kept in the list that, in light of the findings about the metaphorical and the metonymical understandings of *lajja*, as well as the potential causes of *lajja*, are considered as carrying information about the concepts related to LAJJA. This sorting certainly involves subjective interpretation. The interpretation of what concepts the collocates potentially denote and what larger concept categories they belong to are further subjective. The systematization of the collocates happens in the steps described below:

1. I identify the concept the collocate denotes.
2. In order to make the handling of the data easier, I group the identified concepts into broader concept categories.
3. The collocation strength measure of the collocates and *lajja/sharam* are taken as indicative of the strength of relatedness of the concept evoked by the collocate and LAJJA.

The collocates of *lajja* are listed in Table 12 in the Appendix. The collocates of *sharam* are available in Table 13 in the Appendix.

The linguistic data points to the following 24 related concepts or concept categories of LAJJA: VALUE, TRADITION, BEHAVIOR, CONTROL, COMMUNITY, VISIBILITY, INVISIBILITY, EMOTIONS, MODESTY, RESPECT, GRACE, HONOR, INNOCENCE, COMPASSION, DIGNITY, ORNAMENT, BEAUTY, WOMAN, MAN, PERSON, MARRIAGE, NEGATIVE CONCEPTS, BODY, and IDEAL. Let us see these in more detail below:

1. The first concept related to LAJJA is VALUE. This concept is evoked by collocates like *virtue* or *value* (collocates of *lajja*) or collocates like *value* and *values* (collocates of *sharam*). The collocate *virtue* has the strongest collocation strength with *lajja*. It is the first on the list. VALUE as a concept related to LAJJA refers to the essence of *lajja*, namely that it is a virtue of the individual.

2. The second concept related to LAJJA is TRADITION. This concept is evoked by collocates like *Hindu, religion, religious, Shiva* or *ghungat*. These present the concept is various ways. As discussed in the analysis of the metonymical understanding of *lajja, ghungat* is a traditional way of clothing expressing the possession of *lajja*. SHIVA, in relation to LAJJA,

evokes the concept tradition as a character in Hindu traditional stories. The collocates *religion* and *Hindu* refer to dominant religious philosophies as traditions.

3. The third concept related to LAJJA is BEHAVIOR. This concept is evoked by the collocates *behaving*, *attitudes* or *behave*. The concept BEHAVIOR can be interpreted as referring to the following metonymical understandings: APPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA and INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA.

4. The fourth concept related to LAJJA is CONTROL. This is handled as a category, which includes the following concepts: POSSESSION, MANNERS, ACCEPTANCE, MAINTENANCE, USAGE, SUBMISSION, ALLOWANCE, MORALITY, POWER, WEIGHT, RESTRAINT, OVERCOME, LAW, FREEDOM, and DUTY. These concepts present CONTROL in various ways. MANNERS, MORALITY, LAW and DUTY are forms of pulling one under control. The person is compliant with the expectations, the rules, and the ethical and moral codes. In other words, the person is under the control of these. POSSESSION, POWER, USAGE and MAINTENANCE can be interpreted as concepts referring to states under CONTROL. Entities possessed, used and maintained are entities under control. Similarly, ACCEPTANCE, SUBMISSION, ALLOWANCE, and RESTRAINT are concepts that further refer to states of control. The concept FREEDOM can be interpreted as a state without control. OVERCOME invokes scenarios in which an entity gains control, while another entity loses control. The metaphorical and metonymical understanding of *lajja* indicates that CONTROL is at the heart of *lajja* because it functions as an internal force and value, which keeps the person away from improper forms of behavior and ways of living. As such, it exerts an overall control over the person.

5. The fifth concept related to LAJJA is COMMUNITY. This is evoked by collocates like *husband*, *elders*, *public*, *children*, *nation*, *mother*, *daughter*, *Indian*, *society*, *relatives*, *senior* or *parents*. COMMUNITY as a concept related to LAJJA expresses a main feature of the Indian sociocultural context, namely that community is in the center and the dominant value system reflects this.

6. VISIBILITY and INVISIBILITY are further concepts related to LAJJA. VISIBILITY is evoked by collocates like *show* or *shown*. INVISIBILITY is devoted by collocates like *veil*, *covering* or *hide*. The findings about the metonymical and metaphorical conceptualizations of *lajja* both illustrate that LAJJA as an internal value is to be expressed openly. In other words, it has to be made visible. INVISIBILITY is indicative of behavior filled with *lajja*. That is, *covering* the body and *hiding* it with a veil are manifestations of possessing *lajja*. It is possible that PROTECTION carries a meaning similar to INVISIBILITY: INVISIBILITY is a form of PROTECTION.

7. Various emotion concepts are linked to LAJJA. EMOTION is handled as a category which includes the following: BASHFULNESS, SHYNESS, PRIDE, FEAR, and SHAME. While

BASHFULNESS, SHYNESS, and PRIDE are believed to be linked to LAJJA as a positive concept, FEAR seems to be related to LAJJA as a negatively perceived concept. As discussed in Chapter 6, it is possible to conceive the Indian concept of shame positively and negatively. As such, SHAME relates to both the positive and negative conceptualizations of *lajja*.

8. There are numerous concepts related to LAJJA that, in light of the findings about the conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies of the concept, appear in relation to the possession of LAJJA. These are MODESTY, RESPECT, GRACE, HONOR, INNOCENCE, COMPASSION, and DIGNITY. Similarly, the concepts ORNAMENT and BEAUTY indicate the metaphorical understanding of the concept, namely that possessing LAJJA is a JEWEL and BEAUTY of the person.

9. Further important concepts related to LAJJA are WOMAN and MAN. Of the two, the concept WOMAN seems to be more central because a higher number of collocates (11 collocates of *lajja* and 10 collocates of *sharam*) evoke it. This is in line with the findings about the metonymical and metaphorical understanding of *lajja*, namely that *lajja* possibly is a gender-loaded concept. There is a significantly smaller number of collocates referring to the concept MAN (2 collocate of *lajja* and 2 collocate of *sharam*). PERSON (denoted by collocates as *person*, *personal*, *self* or *human*) as a concept related to LAJJA can be thought of as covering the related concepts WOMAN and MAN.

10. An additional concept related to LAJJA is MARRIAGE. The analysis of the linguistic expressions suggests that not accepted forms of marriage (the ones happening without the approval of the family or against the norms) refer to the absence of *lajja*. This is illustrated by the following example:

- I knew them when they run away. They kept talking to me about this love commandos and how they do not want to hurt their families. They had someone their parents wanted them to marry to but they wanted other hubbys. She sayd she does not think she could live in that marriage that was arranged just because of fear of what others will say about *not having lajja*.

11. Several negative concepts seem to be linked to LAJJA: SUICIDE, INJUSTICE, PUNISHMENT, DISRESPECT, ABUSE, WEIGHT and OPPRESSION. These are grouped into the category NEGATIVE CONCEPTS. Among these are concepts (e.g., DISRESPECT), which relate to LAJJA as a consequence of the person not possessing the concept. INJUSTICE and OPPRESSION are linked to LAJJA if *lajja* is understood as a negative concept because it represents the social values and expectations as a burden on the person. WEIGHT is a concept inherently related to the concept BURDEN. As the following linguistic expressions illustrate, the concepts SUICIDE, ABUSE, and PUNISHMENT refer to possible consequences of not possessing *lajja*:

- The prohibitions in displaying overt anger or other emotions which are not considered seemly in local society can result in repressed feelings that emerge in a single violent act. For women, a *violation of their sense of modesty or shame* — '*lajja* or lajja baya' — can have devastating consequences [, such as suicide].
- Our is a wonderful culture with positive and negative traits. I think that our traditions have good teachings but also outdated ones that are to be changed. It is good that there is a standard people are expected to live but it is bad that there is a very old mindset. Women are controversial, they are expected a lot but are treated bad if not doing this expectations. There is a big change in need if a woman walking in a skirt on the streets of Mubai gets beaten by men unknown to them just because they think she *has no sharam*.

12. There are several collocates evoking the concept BODY: *head*, *face*, *blush*, *skin*, *redness* or *breast*. It is suggested that these indicate that *lajja* gets expressed essentially via the body (by covering the head and the face, and by the reddening of the skin).

13. The last identified concept linked to LAJJA is IDEAL. It is suggested that the concept IDEAL relates to *lajja* as a positively perceived internal value. It presents the person possessing *lajja* as a model to follow.

7.5 Summary: The Indian concept of *lajja*

This chapter presented the following main findings about the concept of *lajja*. Linguistic expressions reveal that *lajja* is a governing concept in the Indian sociocultural context. In its central meaning, it is primarily an internal force that is meant to help individuals behave and live by the values that dominate the Indian sociocultural context. It is the internalized set of values the individual is supposed to adhere to. In this understanding, *lajja* is positively evaluated and its possession is highly desired for each individual. The possession of LAJJA and behavior in accordance with the possession of *lajja* earns the individual and the ones who are related to the individual respect and honor. This finding is in line with the literature (e.g., Chhibber, 2014) and the dictionary definition of *lajja* (e.g., Bhawuk, 2017).

The results have revealed that the conception of *lajja* as a positive value is not the only interpretation. Speakers of Indian English tend to refer to *lajja* as a negative concept as well. The negative interpretation of *lajja* is related to the positive central meaning of the concept. The mostly gender-based expectations represented by *lajja* can be considered as a burden. There are additional linguistic examples in which *lajja* is used as a synonym for *shame* (as a lexical item denoting a negative concept).

The collocation analysis of the database leads to the identification of 24 related concepts of LAJJA. Some of these are related to LAJJA as a positive concept (e.g., HONOR, RESPECT, GRACE, PRIDE, DIGNITY, MODESTY, BASHFULNESS, TIMIDITY) and others are related to LAJJA as a negative concept (e.g., PUNISHMENT, ABUSE, SUICIDE, DISRESPECT). Three types of causes of *lajja* as a negative concept are identified: social norm violation, social failure and dubious social status. Findings point out that *lajja* is a potentially gender-loaded concept as it is primarily manifested in reference to women.

There are linguistic expressions where the possession of *lajja* is considered necessary for all humankind, or for the society, but in the vast majority, it is presented in reference to women. In their case, having this value and adhering to it in their everyday activities and overall forms of living is especially desired. Rasa theory lists the virtue of *lajja* without gender distinction and says that it is desirable for everyone to have. This means that the gender-specific interpretation of *lajja* is part of the contemporary understanding of the concept. This finding is possibly related to the characteristic of the Indian sociocultural context, namely of the prevalent gender roles and gender relations described in Section 4.4.

The conceptualization of *lajja* is a good illustration of how the body and the context underlie meaning making processes in concert. The body is present in almost all the identified conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies that motivate the understanding of *lajja*. Among others, *lajja* is a substance in or on the body-container, it is a force that exerts control over the (body of the) person, it is burden the presence of which is seen as a weight that restricts (the body of the) person from moving (i.e., behaving and living) in uncontrolled ways. *Lajja* makes the body-temperature go up and, hence, triggers blushing as an automated response to the emotion. A pillar of conceptualization is the experience with the body. The role of context is essential in that it is the sociocultural features of the context in the frame of which the experience with the body is assigned particular meanings. Depending on which feature of the context they are linked to, *lajja* as a substance in or on the body-container, as a force, as a burden or as a trigger of particular physiology is considered positively or negatively. It is the culturally assigned meaning of these bodily experiences that gives content to the concept of *lajja*. The language-based analysis of *lajja* suggests that the prototypical cognitive-cultural model of the concept is the one described in Section 4.4.1.2, in the introduction of the Rasa aesthetic theory.

7.6 SHAME and LAJJA: A metonymic relationship

In exploring the relationship between the concepts of shame and *lajja*, I rely on the findings of the language-based analysis of lajja discussed in this chapter as well as on the dictionary definition of *lajja.* Again, *lajja* is a Hindi word of Sanskrit origin roughly “translated as shame, modesty, bashfulness, embarrassment, or timidity” (Bhawuk, 2017, p. 112). It is a

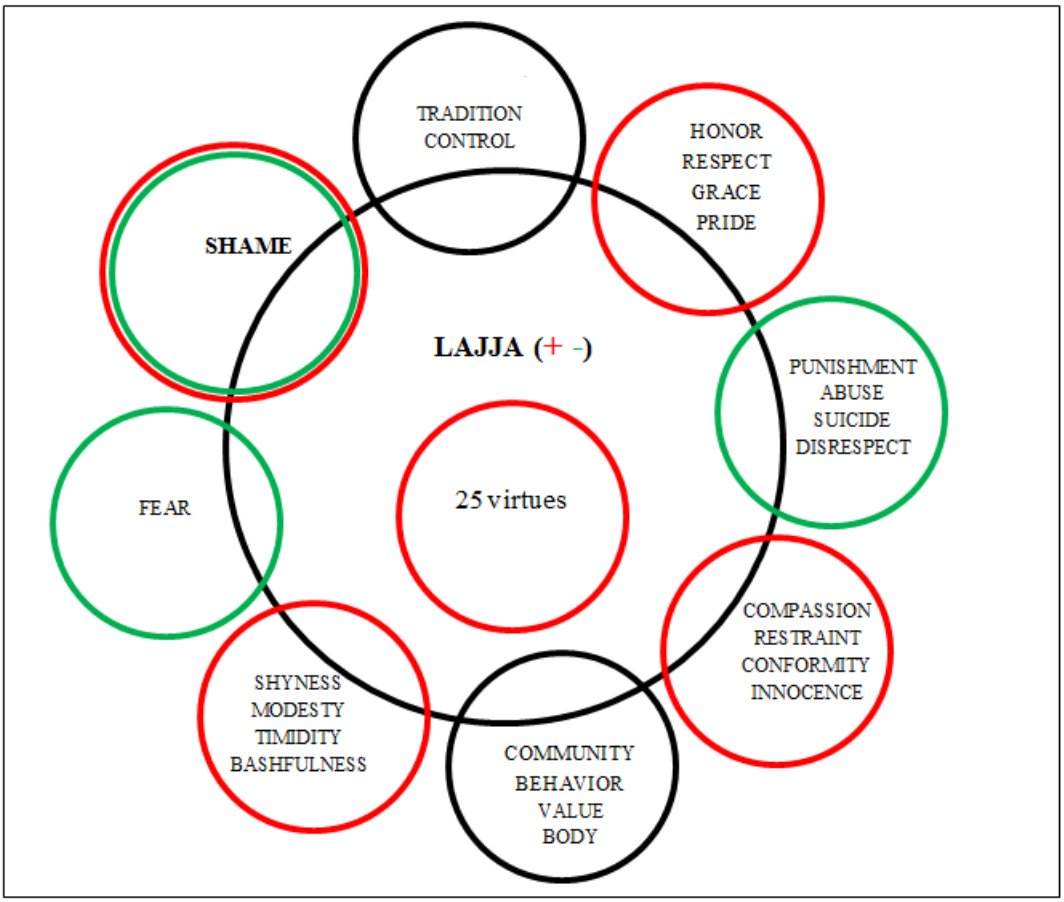
synonym of the Urdu term, *sharam*. That is, it is possible to interpret *lajja* as a concept including further concepts, e.g., SHAME, MODESTY, BASHFULNESS, EMBARRASSMENT and TIMIDITY. The collocation analysis of the linguistic data leads to the identification of 24 concepts that are further linked to LAJJA. These are VALUE, TRADITION, BEHAVIOR, CONTROL, COMMUNITY, VISIBILITY, INVISIBILITY, EMOTIONS, MODESTY, RESPECT, GRACE, HONOR, INNOCENCE, COMPASSION, DIGNITY, ORNAMENT, BEAUTY, WOMAN, MAN, PERSON, MARRIAGE, NEGATIVE CONCEPTS, BODY, and IDEAL. There are concepts among these that are linked to LAJJA as a positively evaluated concept, while others are related to LAJJA as a negative concept.

The analysis presented in this chapter reveals that the central meaning of *lajja* is that it is a set of values, as well as an internal, constructive force that helps individuals behave and live by the values that dominate the Indian sociocultural context. *Lajja* as set of values is an internalized version of the values prevalent in the context. The internalization of values is essential, as compliance with norms is inevitable for an individual to be able to successfully function in the society. Norms and expectations tend to be gender-based. This is a restrictive context, where community and social relations are in the focus. Every individual act is interpreted in light of the effect of that act on others. For these reasons, the possession of *lajja* as a set of values is positively perceived and highly desired. In this understanding of *lajja*, the following are related to the concept: HONOR, RESPECT, GRACE, PRIDE, DIGNITY, MODESTY, BASHFULNESS, TIMIDITY, and SHAME. SHAME as a positive concept is related to *lajja* as a positive concept. As discussed in Section 6.1, the perception of SHAME as a positive concept is based on the ABILITY TO AVOID SHAME STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) SHAME conceptual metonymy. In other words, the ability to feel shame (i.e., to feel and know what is shameful and what is not) is a sign of possessing shame (as a positive concept).

The analysis presented in the chapter indicates that *lajja* can be interpreted as a negative concept as well. If *lajja* is the symbol of expectations, and these (primarily gender-based) expectations are interpreted as a burden, *lajja* becomes a negative concept. The concepts related to *lajja* as a negative concept are different from the ones related to *lajja* as a positive concept. Concepts related *lajja* as a negative concept are PUNISHMENT, ABUSE, SUICIDE, DISRESPECT, as well as emotions like FEAR and SHAME. In this case, SHAME as a negative concept is related to *lajja* as a negative concept. Here, the related concept SHAME is the SHAME that, on the basis of the findings discussed in Chapter 6, is a negatively perceived concept. The understanding of SHAME as a negative concept can be interpreted as being motivated by a metonymic correspondence, the INABILITY TO AVOID SHAME STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) SHAME conceptual metonymy.

In both the positive and the negative meanings, *lajja* and the Indian concept of shame are related because the Indian concept of shame is part of LAJJA as well as it is related to it. It is part of LAJJA on the basis of the dictionary definition, and it is related to LAJJA on the basis of the collocation analysis of Indian English linguistic expressions of *lajja* and *sharam*. SHAME is related to LAJJA in two possible ways: (1) SHAME is either included in LAJJA or (2) SHAME as an emotion category is linked to LAJJA as a chain in the network of concepts LAJJA is embedded in. If we think of LAJJA as a conceptual category, it is assumed to have a structure like to the one provided in Figure 1:

Figure 1: LAJJA as a conceptual category[32]



Understanding the link between LAJJA and SHAME along these lines makes it possible to argue that LAJJA (as a whole) and SHAME (as a part) are in a WHOLE-PART type of metonymic relationship. In the WHOLE-PART configuration, there are cases when THE WHOLE STANDS FOR THE PART and cases when PARTS STAND FOR THE WHOLE. That is, there are ways of understanding that are either motivated by the LAJJA STANDS FOR SHAME or the SHAME STANDS FOR LAJJA conceptual metonymies. Both conceptual metonymies have two

[32] In the figure, the concepts in the red circles are part of and relate to LAJJA as a positive concept. The concepts in the green circles are part of and relate to LAJJA as a negative concept. The concepts in the black circles are neutral with respect to evaluation.

subtypes: LAJJA (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR SHAME (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT), LAJJA (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR SHAME (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT), SHAME (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR LAJJA (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT) and SHAME (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR LAJJA (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT). The following linguistic expressions serve as illustrations of these:

LAJJA (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR SHAME (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT)

- So, I've met one lady who travelled with me. She was wearing a burkha because she was a Moslem and by the time we landed in London, she took out the burkha and the dress was much above the knees. I said, what kind of Moslem woman is she? She's worse than even Christians because they wouldn't wear such a thing. You know, to come out of the aeroplane, you have to come down on the staircase. No *lajja*, no *sham*e, nothing, shamelessness!
- Once we become aware of our acts and become a witness gradually; we tend to be filled with a feeling of *shame* (*Lajja*). Nanak says lajja is a form of prayer which heralds the onset of His Kripa which fills us with anand or fulfilment.
- Doesn't *Lajja* mean shame? Yep, that's the word for *shame* in Bengali and *shuddh* Hindi. The word for shy is *lajuk* in Bengali. Yeah but that is just noun/adjective/whatever form of the same word. Take this sentence for example - *Meyeta oor shamne jete lajja pachche*. Here *lajja* = shyness not shame. It can also mean shame depending on context. *Ami marksheet peye babar kachhe jete lojja pachhi.* In this sentence it implies *shame*, not shyness.

LAJJA (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR SHAME (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT)

- Well, *Lajja* Diaries, through the digital platform, promises to bring women from across the world to come ahead and share their views and support other women who have been victims of sexual or physical abuse. With this, they believe that the *shame* and blame is apportioned to the perpetrator instead of the cultural decree of questioning the victim.
- The central issue of course is how, at one end, in desi homes, there is so much '*lajja*' or '*shame*' attached to how women must dress, or behave in public; and yet, such vast numbers of Indian families are perfectly fine with sending girls out in the open, under the sky, behind a bush, if any, to defecate practically in public—everyday.
- The MLAs have brought *lajja* (*shame*) to the nation. How do they seek to justify the attack on a woman? What precedent are they setting for the Muslim youth?

SHAME (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR LAJJA (AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT)

- *'Have shame* it's Ramadan': Dangal actress Fatima Sana Shaikh slammed for wearing swimsuit.

- These girls claim to be molested. Someone should tell them that only girls who *have shame* can be molested. These girls kiss men openly.
- As SFI and CPI(M) members chanted "Mamata Banerjee hai hai (Mamata down down), TMC hai hai, Hatyari Mamata *sharm karo* (*have shame*, killer Mamata)", an agitated Chief Minister walked into the building shouting that "this is uncivilised behaviour".

SHAME (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT) STANDS FOR LAJJA (AS A NEGATIVE CONCEPT)

- This will make istudents to scamper away yand da Praffessar will be left behind holding da joyishtick, (*sharam on* those with sharam thoughts) not a pootiphul site no?
- MahA Bali was *put to shame* however by the puny request of three measures of land that Vaamana BrahmachAri sought from him. *That lajja* of MahA Bali caused by His alpa yAchakam impressed BhagavAn so much that made the Lord run like a servant of Bali to spread his glory all around.
- Pakistani gang found guilty: Can u see any *sharam on* his face.

In light of the findings about the metonymical relationship of LAJJA and SHAME, let us see the linguistic expressions listed at the beginning of the chapter again. These are examples in which *shame* and *lajja* (or *sharam*) are used by the speakers simultaneously:

- 'National **shame**', **lajja** – this is the sentiment most Indians feel, now that the raped girl has died. The power of this shame has forced a realization even in the mainstream media.
- She not only sported with mendicants and religious seers, she boldly asserted that she intended to do so without **shame** (**loklaaj**) in her poems.
- Much, much longer to stop feeling ashamed. Every day I have to remind myself not to be embarrassed. And I suppose that writing this piece is part of that effort. I try, at least, to run without **shame** and laugh without **shame** and dance without **shame**. But my spine is still bent from having been crushed under the weight of **sharam** for years. I can't get my posture back. Theek hai. I accept my imperfect woman's body.
- **Sharam** karo, **shame** on you, your employee's wife committed suicide after no pay for 6 months. You globetrot and tweet shamelessly. "He spends so much money for tobacco. It is really sad. If he gives all that money for household expenses then the household would run smoothly. When I tell him something then he replies back that I earn and I spend, you don't give me money. What to do? It is a real **shame** (**sharam**) on me and my children."
- If you have any **shame**, "**sharam** rakho" ["keep sharam"].
- When someone dont have money to do things. You dont have money to participate in religious festivals. You borrow from others in order to be able to, fingers point at

you if you dont take part. This kind of situation among family members might not cause **shame**, but when exposed to public will cause **sharam**.

In the majority of these examples, *lajja*, *sharam* and *shame* evoke LAJJA and SHAME as negative concepts. *Lajja* (or *sharam*) and *shame* correspond to each other and, as such, they behave as synonyms:

- 'National shame', lajja – this is the sentiment most Indians feel, now that the raped girl has died. The power of this shame *[the national shame caused by the incident, which is lajja]* has forced a realization even in the mainstream media.
- What to do? It is a real shame (sharam) [*shame is sharam*] on me and my children.

The question arises why the speaker feels the need to use the words *shame* and *lajja* or *sharam* to express the intended meaning if – in terms of the identified metonymical relationship of LAJJA and SHAME – one would be enough. It is suggested that this is because the verbalization of the metonymical relation between LAJJA and SHAME (that is, the use of *shame* and *lajja* as synonyms) is optional. It is an option that Indian English as a nativizied variety of the English language "capable to express context specific meaning" offers and makes possible (Frey, 2014). If speakers do not use this option, they either use the local terms (*lajja*, *sharam*) in order to express the intended meaning in Indian English communications or they complement the local terms with the Indian English expression (*shame*).

It is essential to note that the identified metonymical relationship of SHAME and LAJJA enables us to draw the conclusion that the meaning of the concept of shame, both in its positive and negative senses, is, in general, derived in relation to the concept of *lajja* in the Indian context. That is, the Indian concept of shame, as explored in Chapter 6, is assumed to be linked to the concept of *lajja*, even though LAJJA is not directly referred to in the linguistic examples of *shame* analyzed in Chapter 6. SHAME as a negative concept implies a process or a state that is a result of an inappropriate act or state. SHAME as a positive concept means the ability to avoid SHAME as a negative process or state. In the Indian context, appropriate and inappropriate are inherently linked to the concept of *lajja*. *Lajja* is the symbol of the value system in relation to which norms are formulated. Overall, it is plausible to draw the following two conclusions:

(1) *Lajja*, as the concept that symbolizes the main features of the Indian sociocultural context, serves as a "general background" to the Indian concept of shame. This is why there is an overlap in the potential causes of *lajja* and shame as negative concepts (e.g., WOMEN, MARRIAGE, or MONEY), in the related concepts of LAJJA and SHAME (e.g., TRADITION, COMMUNITY, CONTROL, SHYNESS, RESPECT), as well as in particular metaphorical source

domains of the two concepts (e.g., POSSESSED OBJECT, SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER or BURDEN).

(2) *Lajja*, as an element of the Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics that possibly motivates unique folk theories of emotions in the Indian context, leads to cognitive-cultural models of SHAME specific to Indian culture.

The next chapter attempts to identify the Indian and the American cognitive-cultural models of SHAME on the basis of the findings discussed in the dissertation so far.

7.7 Summary

This chapter presented the findings of a language-based analysis of the Indian concept of *lajja*. The linguistic data was collected from Indian English corpora, as well as with the help of a survey conducted with speakers of Indian English living in India. The aim of the analysis was to see which conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies motivate the understanding of the concept. Also, an attempt was made to identify potential causes of *lajja*, as well as concepts related to LAJJA. The findings indicate that the central meaning of *lajja* is that it is a highly positive value the possession of which makes individuals respected and honored. The linguistic expressions indicate that *lajja* has a negative understanding as well. The linguistic expressions of *lajja* suggest that the prototypical cognitive-cultural model of the concept (as a positive value) is the one provided in Section 4.4.1.2 in the discussion of Rasa Theory of Indian aesthetics. Rasa Theory appears to motivate the folk understanding of *lajja*. The Indian concept of *lajja* was included in the dissertation in order to have a better understanding of the Indian concept of shame. An essential finding of the language-based analysis of *lajja* is that the concept has a metonymical relationship with the Indian concept of shame. As such, it is inherently linked to the Indian concept of shame.

Chapter 8: The cultural models of SHAME

Based on the results presented in the dissertation so far, this chapter aims to identify the cognitive-cultural models that provide the conceptual structure of SHAME in the Indian and the American contexts. In the dissertation, to repeat here, cultural models of SHAME are culturally determined representations of the concept, with both a cognitive and a cultural basis. They are the "joint product of (possibly universal) actual human physiology, conceptualized physiology (metonymy), metaphor, cultural model (with its schematic basic structure) and the broader cultural context" (Kövecses, 1995c, p. 70). Cultural models are "best described as consisting of a number of conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies and related concepts" (Kövecses, 2017b).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the following cultural model structure is used in the analysis of SHAME: cause of emotion ⇒ existence of emotion ⇒ effect of emotion. In this model, the emotion is triggered by some cause, its existence is conceptualized in various ways, and finally, the emotion has an effect. This model is able to describe all the folk theories of SHAME identified in the dissertation. The three stages of the model are filled in various ways by the particular Indian and American conceptualizations.

I use a combination of the quantitative and qualitative methodologies in identifying the Indian and American cultural models of SHAME, and in establishing their salience. The qualitative part of the methodology includes intuition-based decisions. The cognitive-cultural models of SHAME are identified in the frame of a manual and subjective analysis of the linguistic data. The linguistic data appears to reflect the following three main models of SHAME in both the Indian English and the American English databases:

1. Shame is an on-the-spot, immediate emotional response to a particular situation.
2. Shame is an emotional state caused by a particular state.
3. Shame (as the ability to feel shame) is a property that helps avoid shame (as a negative emotion described in Point 1).

In the scenarios described in the linguistic data, SHAME appears in the frame of one of these three interpretations. It is suggested that these provide the following three prototypical cognitive-cultural models of SHAME:

1. SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION
2. SHAME AS A STATE
3. SHAME AS A PROPERTY

These cultural models frame both the Indian and the American conceptions of SHAME. All three are considered prototypes of shame, with possible deviations. In this chapter, focus is on how the three prototypes appear in the Indian and the American contexts. Deviations from the prototypes are not discussed. As we will see in the analysis, the three prototypes appear somewhat differently in the two contexts. There are differences in the details of the cultural models, in their assumed salience, or in which folk theory of EMOTION motivates the cultural models. The quantitative part in the analysis of cultural models of SHAME is that the salience of conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies, and the strength of association between SHAME and its related concepts are believed to be indicative of the salience of the cultural models they constitute. Let us see the 3 main cultural models in detail below.

8.1 Cultural Model 1: SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION

Cultural Model 1 describes shame as an emotion that is triggered in a particular situation. This cultural model corresponds to what Yontef (2003) terms *situational shame* because shame here is a "reaction at a time in a situation of a specific failure, weakness and inappropriate behavior" (p. 355). This type of shame is negatively evaluated. The stages of the model are the following:

1. Person (P) is emotionally calm.

2. Cause of emotion: An external event exerts an impact on P and makes shame (S) come into existence. The cause of S is an inappropriate action. Concepts related to S are evoked in P.

3. Exisense of emotion: P feels shame. This is a negative feeling state. In this negative feeling state is the desire (D) that the feeling stops to exist. The human body performs particular physiological reactions in this feeling state.

4. Effect of emotion: The desire that the negative feeling state stops to exist leads to two possible outcomes:

   (1) P keeps S in control and performs particular behavioral responses. P (1a) rationally attempts to rectify the inappropriate event that caused shame or (1b) rationally suppresses or eliminates S.
   (2) The strength of S increases beyond the point that P could control S. P performs particular behavioral responses. In this case, P (2a) becomes rational or (2b) stays irrational.

These steps constitute the model in the Indian and the American contexts, but there are differences in the way they are "filled." The parts where differences are implied by the Indian English and American English databases are underlined with dashed lines in the model. Let us take a look at the differences in detail one by one below.

Cause of emotion: An external event exerts an impact on P and makes shame (S) come into existence. The cause of S is an inappropriate action. Concepts related to S are evoked in P.

At this stage of the scenario, it is an inappropriate action that triggers shame. What is *inappropriate* differs across contexts. It is the features of the particular sociocultural context that define what is appropriate and what is inappropriate. A recurring thought in the dissertation is that the main features of the Indian sociocultural context are compliance with the norms and conformity with (gender-based) social roles. In this context, customs and traditions are of outstanding importance. As discussed in Section 6.4, the collocation strength between the lexical items that evoke the concept TRADITION and *shame* is high. In the American sociocultural context, individualist values are in the foreground. Reflecting this, the concept WEAKNESS and FAILURE, as related to SHAME, appear significant in the American context. In the American English database, the collocation strength between *shame* and the lexical items that evoke WEAKNESS and FAILURE is high. Anything that is considered inappropriate in light of these characteristics of the two contexts is a potential cause of shame. To illustrate this with examples, let us consider the following linguistic expressions borrowed from the corpora:

Indian English

- Some women have begun to wear very revealing clothes as a result of seeing these sexualized images on TV. Clothing which is unsuitable and would be unimaginable in a Bengali middle-class family. There are some women who wear these types of clothing, like wearing jeans and a T-short in a very revealing way. You *feel embarrassed* when you pass these women in the street.

American English

- One summer, I was at a friend's cabin, celebrating a birthday party, wearing shorts and a t-shirt. I was chatting with two other girls. One girl was fretting about her stretch marks on her thighs (like mine) and about how much she hated them. The other looked at my legs, pursed her lips and said, "Don't worry, Erin's got stretch marks too, and she's wearing shorts!" To say *I felt awkward and embarrassed* is an understatement. I looked down at my pale thighs with the purpley-white stripes that I had never paid attention to I was *ashamed of my body* for something that is totally normal.

In the Indian English example, shame as an immediate response evokes a scenario, in which the inappropriate behavior of women is interpreted as non-compliance with customs and expectations. In the American English examples, shame as an immediate response evokes a scenario, in which the deficiency and the underperformance of the individual generate shame. The two scenarios evoke different concepts. Concepts related to SHAME in the Indian English scenario are, for instance, EMBARRASSMENT, WOMEN, VALUE or CUSTOMS. Concepts related to SHAME in the American English scenario are, for instance, EMBARRASSMENT, FAILURE, or REFUSAL.

Exisense of emotion: P feels shame. This is a negative feeling state. In this negative feeling state is the desire (D) that the feeling stops to exist. The human body performs particular physiological reactions in this feeling state.

At this stage of the scenario, the person feels shame. Inherent in the feeling state are the potentially universal physiological reactions to the emotion. That is, among others, the reddening of the face or the overall rise of the temperature of the body. The conceptualization of this feeling state is typically metonymical and/or metaphorical.

Conceptual metonymies that motivate the understanding of this feeling state are, for instance, INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME, DOWNWARD ORIENTATION STANDS FOR SHAME or SHRINKING IN SIZE STANDS FOR SHAME. These conceptual metonymies can be identified in both the Indian English and American English databases. Further possible conceptual metonymies in the American context are INABILITY TO BREATH STANDS FOR SHAME and SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME.

The metaphorical conceptualization of the feeling state is colorful. The following source domains can all be used:

HEAT (e.g., shame *burns* the person)
BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE (e.g., the person is *in* shame)
LIQUID (e.g., the person feels as if *drowning* in shame)
SUBSTANCE ON A CONTAINER (i.e., the feeling of shame *being on* the person)
SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ON THE CONTAINER (i.e., the feeling of shame *being brought on* the person)
SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER (e.g., the person feels *full of* shame)
DISEASE (e.g., the person *suffers* in the feeling state)
SHARP OBJECT (e.g., shame *stings* the person)
DARK (i.e., this feeling state is a *negative experience*)

MIXED SUBSTANCE (i.e., the feeling state involves the person feeling shame in a combination with other emotions, e.g., FEAR, SADNESS or EMBARRASSMENT)

As discussed in Chapter 6, these conceptual metaphors motivate Indian and American conceptualizations as well. Difference is detected in the salience of the metaphors. Further differences are detected in the details of particular metaphorical interpretations. A nice illustration of this is conceptualization in terms of the DARK source domain. The DARK source domain refers to the negative conception of shame in both contexts. The Indian English metaphorical linguistic expression, *blacken one's face*, however, points more to the social nature of shame. If one's face is *black with shame*, it is visible to the others and, as such, the shame of the person is obvious. In a similar vein, the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ON THE CONTAINER conceptual metaphor makes shame appear in different perspectives in the two contexts. As it is shown in Chapter 6, the majority of the linguistic examples for this metaphor in the American English corpus refer to scenarios where the external cause of shame brings shame to the person, who, as a result, will be in a state of shame. As opposed to this, linguistic data in the Indian English corpus rather refer to scenarios where a person brings shame to another person with inappropriate behavior. The American interpretation implies an individualized interpretation of shame, while the Indian interpretation implies a public one (shame in relation to others).

The linguistic data suggests that the physiology-based understanding of the feeling state of shame is more salient in the American context. The source domain HEAT, in light of the discussion of Chapter 6, is a significantly more salient source domain of SHAME in the American English database. The significance of physiology is further indicated by the following findings: physiology-based metonymical conceptualizations of SHAME (i.e., INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME) are more salient in the American English database, and conceptual metonymies that refer to other physiological reactions (i.e., SHIVERING STANDS FOR SHAME) appear in the American English database only.

Effect of emotion: The desire that the negative feeling state stops to exist leads to two possible outcomes:

(1) P keeps S in control and performs particular behavioral responses. P (1a) rationally attempts to rectify the inappropriate event that caused shame or (1b) rationally suppresses or eliminates S.
(2) The strength of S increases beyond the point that P could control S. P performs particular behavioral responses. In this case, P (2a) becomes rational or (2b) stays irrational.

At this stage of the scenario, the individual gives a response, guided by the feeling of shame. The response (the effect of shame, that is) can be of various types. The first possible response (1a) is that the person maintains control over his/her shame and tries to rectify the inappropriate event that caused shame. This is a rational decision in order to make the negative feeling state of shame cease to exist. Examples of this type of response to shame are detected in both the Indian English and the American English databases. The following linguistic expressions serve as illustrations:

Indian English

- I wore a spaghetti-strapped dress to a party that an old friend of mine invited me to. When I got there, everyone started staring at me. Later on, a few girls came up to me and started making some small talk. Then they asked me how I was comfortable wearing such a thing, and that these clothes were looked down upon in India. It was *embarrassing*. I *had to borrow a pashmina from my friend to stop everyone looking*.

American English

- There was this guy in school I could not really get on well with. He was picking on me teasing me all the time. This was annoying and also a *shame* as I felt like a nobody and appeared as a total loser to everyone. One day this guy was calling me names I felt so upset I *punched him in the face*. Acting out this frustration physically helped a lot as he did not dare to touch me from that day on.

The second possible response (1b) is that the person maintains control over his/her shame. The person does not let shame take control and he/she acts accordingly. This reaction to shame is manifest, among others, in the understanding motivated by the following conceptual metaphors:

SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (the person *swallows* or *represses* shame)
SHAME IS AN OPPONENT (the person *eliminates* the emotion)
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE (the person *hides* his/her shame and tries to *keep it a secret*)

Responses (1a) and (1b) are related if the *swallow*, *repression*, *elimination* and *hiding* of shame include the rectification of the cause of shame. The responses (1a) and (1b) are entirely independent of each other if the *swallow*, *repression*, *elimination* and *hiding* of shame are simply ways of masking, but not eliminating, one' shame. Responses (1a) and (1b) include different concepts evoked by shame. GUILT (the person feeling guilty because of the shame scenario) and RESPECT (the person re-earning his or her respect once shame is rectified) are part of the scenario in which the cause of shame gets rectified. The collocation analysis of the databases indicates that GUILT and RESPECT are related concepts of SHAME on both contexts. The acts of masking or hiding shame potentially evoke concepts like ANGER.

The findings (discussed in Section 6.4.3) indicate that ANGER and RAGE are related to the American concept of shame. This suggests that response (1b) is more characteristic of the American context.

In the third type of response, the individual is overcome by shame and acts accordingly. The person being overcome by shame is conceptualized, for instance, in terms of the NATURAL FORCE (shame *sweeps over* X) and the WILD ANIMAL (shame *eats up* X) source domains. The following conceptual metonymies depict this response type:

WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME (e.g., the person *runs away* in shame)
DYING STANDS FOR SHAME (e.g., the person *dies* in shame)
INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR SHAME (e.g., the person *goes mad* in shame)

At this stage of the scenario and in the frame of the third response type, the person becomes rational (2a) or stays irrational (2b). The irrationality of the person is reflected by conceptual metonymies like INSANE BEHAVIOR STANDS FOR SHAME or DYING STANDS FOR SHAME. These are not simply figurative responses to overwhelming shame, but may also be real responses. Death as a response to shame mostly appears in the Indian English corpora. The literature (e.g., Radhakrishnan and Andrade, 2012) tells us that shame-driven death in the Indian context is considered both irrational and rational. Death as a rational response to shame is linked to the sociocultural features of the Indian context. Norms should be followed and gender-based rules should be observed. The individual is defined in his/her relations to the community and, as such, the individual's shame is also the shame of others. Suicide is committed in order to dissolve the shame of the individual and, hence, the shame of others related to the individual. Because the concept of honor is significant in the Indian context (an individual's honor is the honor of those who are related to the individual), the death of the person in shame is also an act of restoring honor (that of the person in shame and those related to the person as well).

The SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION cultural model seems to be motivated by the "Rational vs. Emotional" folk understanding of emotions. This is because SHAME appears as a force that potentially makes the person perform irrational forms of behavior. Irrationality is not necessarily part of the model in both contexts (death as a response to shame can be percieved as both a rational and an irrational behavioral reaction in the Indian context), but it is a possible element of it. This indicates that the "Rational vs. Emotional" folk understanding of emotions is present in the American and the Indian contexts as well. It is assumed that the presence of the model in the Indian context is due to the dominantly negative evaluation of shame (i.e., shame is as negative that it has the power to make the individual perform irrational forms of behavior) and it has nothing to do with the classical-medieval notion of the four humors. This, however, is a hypothesis yet to be investigated.

The SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION cultural model is assumed to be a prototype of shame in the Indian and the American contexts. Because of the described differences in the details of the model, however, it seems that the American version of the model makes shame appear more like an individualized concept. The Indian version of the model presents shame more like a public phenomenon.

8.2 Cultural Model 2: SHAME AS A STATE

In Cultural Model 2, shame is not an on-the-spot, immediate reaction to a particular cause. Instead, it is a condition the person, for a particular reason, is in. It is suggested that this form of shame comes as a result of causes examined in Section 6.3. One's dubious social status, social status loss or inadequate bodily conditions possibly lead to a feeling of shame which explicitly or implicitly characterizes the life of individuals. Similarly to Cultural Model 1, shame in this understanding is negatively perceived. It is suggested that the conception of shame in the frame of Cultural Model 2 is largely metaphorical. Various concepts identified in Section 6.4 as being related to shame appear in this model. Let us see the model in detail below:

1. Cause of emotion: Potential causes of shame in this model are the ones discussed in Section 6.3. In the Indian sociocultural context, shame, for instance, appears in relation to one's caste membership (dubious social status), one's loss of social status (e.g., widows), or one's violation of social norms (e.g., unaccepted forms of marriage or getting a divorce). These states are linked to shame because they are interpreted as violations of social codes. In the American sociocultural context, shame, for instance appears in relation to one's bodily conditions (e.g., diseases or obesity), social failure (e.g., becoming poor), or social status loss (e.g., aging). These states are interpreted as forms of individual failure and weakness and are, therefore, linked to shame. Disease, aging and obesity are potential causes of shame if interpreted as one's failure to protect one's health and strength. Poverty is a potential cause of shame if interpreted as a consequence of lack of individual achievement.

As discussed in Section 6.3, the identified causes in the two contexts are both external and internal. They are external in the sense that the listed conditions are linked to shame in light of the sociocultural characteristics of the context. They are internal in the sense that, through the process of the socialization, the values prevalent in one's sociocultural context are internalized. As such, these conditions are potentially shameful in both the eyes of others and in the eye of the individual in the particular condition.

2. Existence of emotion: It is suggested that the conception of the existence of shame in the frame of Cultural Model 2 is largely metaphorical. Among others, the following metaphorical source domains and conceptual metaphors motivate the understanding:

SOCIAL SUPERIOR (shame *governs*, *rules*)
TOOL (shame is a *silencing device*, *use* shame *for a* particular *purpose*)
DISEASE (*diseases* of shame, *suffer* shame)
UNDESIRABLE OBJECT (*inherit* shame)
SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER (one is *wrapped in* shame)
SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER (shame is *on* somebody)
PRISON (one is *stuck in* shame)
EXPOSURE (*name and shame*, *stigmatize* somebody with shame)
BURDEN (*carry* shame, *baggage* of shame)
STICKY SUBSTANCE (shame is *attached* to somebody)
BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE (*live* in shame)

Some of these conceptual metaphors are listed as part of the feeling state of shame in Cultural Model 1 as well. This is because these are conceptual metaphors that motivate the understanding of shame both as an immediate response to a particular situation and as a condition one is in.

3. Effect of emotion: Likely effects of shame as a condition are the following. In the Indian context, the individuals in the above-listed conditions are treated by others as "outcasts." People who belong to Scheduled Castes (e.g., the "Untouchables") are deprived of various opportunities people of higher castes are granted (e.g., in areas of education or job opportunities). "Untouchables" are literally not in physical contact with people of higher castes and, as such, they are kept in a constant state of shame. Widows and relatives living in unaccepted forms of marriage are excluded from the family and from the community. These are instances of what Yontef (2003) terms *group shame*, which is experienced "as a result of membership in class, race, religion, or any other social grouping" (p. 356).

The person becoming an outcast is a potential consequence of this type of shame in the Indian context. Devaluation by others and low self-esteem are likely effects of shame in both contexts. Among the various related concepts of shame identified in Section 6.4, several appear as linked to the emotion at this stage of Cultural Model 2. Among others, FEAR, EMBARRASSMENT, GUILT, SADNESS, loss of PRIDE and loss of HONOR are evoked by SHAME in both contexts. It is suggested that the concepts SUICIDE and DEATH in the Indian context are linked to SHAME as understood in the frame Cultural Model 1 as well. In order to restore one's self-esteem and value in the eyes of others, death is a possible way to make the state of shame cease to exist. This action is performed in order to restore one's self-

esteem and value in the eyes of others, as well as to re-establish the honor of and the respect for the individual's relatives in the community. As such, VALUE, HONOR, and RESPECT are concepts that further join SHAME at this stage of the model.

Interestingly, the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model does not seem to be an example of either the "Rational vs. Emotional" or the "Emotion as a virtue" folk understanding of emotions. This is a cultural model of SHAME that is not force-dynamic in nature. It is suggested that the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model illustrates a folk theory of emotions the master metaphor of which is (EMOTIONAL) STATES ARE LOCATIONS. This is a sub-metaphor within the Event Structure metaphor (Lakoff et al., 1989). The understanding of shame in this model is built around a condition of the individuals that restricts the possibilities of individuals as if they were confined to a bounded space (i.e., to a type of location). Similarly to the SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION cultural model, the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model presents a considerably negative conception of SHAME.

The SHAME AS A STATE cultural model is assumed to be a prototype of shame in the Indian and the American contexts.The conceptual metaphors that consitute this model appear of varying salience in the Indian English and American English databases but this does not effect the overall prototypicality of the model in the two contexts. The main difference in the Indian and the American versions of this model is that conditions of shame have roots in causes that reflect the sociocultural features of the two contexts.

8.3 Cultural Model 3: SHAME AS A PROPERTY

Cultural Model 3 represents a positive understanding of shame. It is suggested that this model has two alternatives: (1) SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE and (2) SHAME AS A VIRTUE. The analysis of the Indian English and American English corpora reveals that the SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE cultural model exists in both the Indian and the American contexts. This understanding of shame stems from the nature of shame as a social emotion. The cultural model SHAME AS A VIRTUE, however, seems to be specific to the Indian context. The understanding of SHAME in terms of this model is tightly linked to *lajja*, a focal concept in Indian culture (Menon and Shweder, 2010). The cultural model SHAME AS A VIRTUE appears to stem from the folk understanding of emotions as related to the Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics. Let us see the two alternatives of the SHAME AS A PROPERTY cultural model in detail below**.**

8.3.1 SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE

The cultural model SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE is related to the cultural model SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION in the sense that the experience with shame described in Cultural

Model 1 is so negative that the person aims to avoid it. In this understanding, shame is a value, as well as a force. This model corresponds to what Yontef (2003) terms *existential shame*, which is "not related to a particular situation, but [it is] rather an attribution about the essence of the person" (p. 355). The possession of shame as a value motivates the individual to behave in morally correct ways.

This understanding comes from the complex nature of shame as a social emotion. As discussed in earlier sections of the dissertation, the understanding of shame as a social emotion has at least two layers: (1) as the individual impacted by the emotion perceives shame (shame as an individual experience) and (2) as the individual's shame impacts those related to the individual (shame as a social, public experience). Shame at both layers is a negative experience. Our knowledge about the negative character of the shame experience leads to perceiving the ability to prevent shame positively. This understanding of shame is based on the following metonymical link: THE ABILITY TO AVOID SHAME (as a negative experience) STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) SHAME. Let us see the stages of the model in detail below:

1. Cause of emotion: The cause of shame is a situation, which demands the individual's morally correct behavior in order to avoid shame (the negative experience described in Cultural Model 1).

2. Existence of emotion: The existence of shame is primarily expressed by the SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT and the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW conceptual metaphors. In terms of the DESIRABLE OBJECT source domain, shame is a positive emotion one should possess. People who *have shame* are evaluated positively, whereas people who *do not have shame* are perceived negatively because they should have shame. In terms of the SUBSTANCE TO SHOW source domain, people are encouraged to make it *visible* that they possess shame.

3. Effect of emotion: If the person possesses shame as a positive value, the person is respected by others and has a healthy amount of self-esteem. The possession of shame in this understanding is synonymous with being honorable. HONOR, as concept related to shame, appears at this stage in the model. The possession of shame leads to morally correct behavior.

The SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor is at the core of the SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE cultural model. The finding that this metaphor is significantly more salient in the Indian English database suggests that the cultural model is more central in the Indian context. The salience of the SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE cultural model in the Indian English database is believed to reflect the sociocultural features of the Indian context. Namely that conformity and community values are so much in the foreground that,

compared to the American setting, the ability and the need to avoid shame (as a negative experience) is significantly more stressed in the Indian context.

8.3.2 SHAME AS A VIRTUE

The SHAME AS A VIRTUE cultural model is a further example of what Yontef (2003) terms *existential shame*. Similarly to the SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE cultural model, the SHAME AS A VIRTUE cultural model depicts shame as a positively evaluated property that prevents the person performing inappropriate forms of behavior. The difference between the two cultural models is where they come from.

The SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE cultural model provides an understanding of shame which has roots in the complex nature of shame as a social emotion. It is a social emotion because (1) many aspects of the shame experience make sense in the frame of the particular sociocultural characteristics that prevail in the contexts shame appears in, and (2) shame has two layers (the individual and the social). It is specifically the latter feature that calls for the complex understanding: shame is both a negative experience and the ability to prevent the negative experience. Basic emotions (e.g., happiness or sadness) do not seem to have this complex character (e.g., Kövecses, 1991, 2000a). The SHAME AS A VIRTUE cultural model has roots in the folk understanding of emotions as related to the Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics. This is the cultural model through which the Indian concept of shame gets linked to the Indian concept of *lajja*. As such, the cultural model SHAME AS A VIRTUE is claimed to be specific to the Indian sociocultural context.

The SHAME AS A VIRTUE cultural model has the same structure as the SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE cultural model. The SHAME AS A VIRTUE cultural model potentially borrows content from the LAJJA AS A VIRTUE cultural model discussed in Chapter 7 and described in Section 4.4.1.2. Let us see the details of the model in detail below:

1. Cause of emotion: The cause of shame is a situation, which demands the individual's morally correct behavior in order to avoid shame (the negative experience described in Cultural Model 1).

2. Existence of emotion: The situation evokes shame in the person as an internal force that prevents the individual from inappropriate forms of behavior. Shame is an internal force that aims to keep the balance of the individual. The existence of shame in this model has similar metaphorical grounds as the existence of shame in the cultural model SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE. The SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT and the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW conceptual metaphors are the primary metaphors in this model as well.

3. Effect of emotion: The person prevented by his/her shame as a virtue from inappropriate forms of behavior is respected by others. Further concepts related to this understanding of shame at this stage are HONOR, CONTROL or PRIDE. The person is balanced. The person would be imbalanced if he/she acted against the force of shame as a virtue. In that scenario, the person would be condemned by others and the person would become a potential source of shame (as a negatively perceived concept).

8.4. Summary

Three cultural models of SHAME are identified in both the Indian English and the American English databases: SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION, SHAME AS A STATE, and SHAME AS A PROPERTY. All three models are considered prototypical in both contexts. Differences in the Indian and the American versions of the model are detected in the details of the cultural models, in their assumed salience, or in which folk theory of EMOTION motivates the cultural models.

The "Rational vs. Emotional" folk understanding seems to motivate the SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION cultural model. This cultural model appears to have a similar salience in the Indian and the American contexts. Whereas it presents SHAME more like a public concept in the Indian context, it depicts the emotion in a more individualized and private form in the American context. The "Emotion as virtue" cultural model seems to motivate a subtype of the SHAME AS A PROPERTY cultural model: SHAME AS A VIRTUE. This cultural model seems to be specific to the Indian context. The understanding of SHAME in terms of this model is tightly linked to LAJJA, a focal concept in Indian culture (Menon and Shweder, 2010). The cultural model SHAME AS A VIRTUE appears to stem from the folk understanding of emotions as related to the Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics. The other subtype of the SHAME AS A PROPERTY cultural model is present in both the Indian and the American contexts, but it appears to be more salient in the former.

The third cultural model, SHAME AS A STATE seems to be motivated by a folk theory of emotions not considered in the literature review of the dissertation. It is suggested that the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model illustrates a folk theory of emotions the master metaphor of which is (EMOTIONAL) STATES ARE LOCATIONS. This is a sub-metaphor within the Event Structure metaphor (Lakoff et al., 1989). The understanding of SHAME in this model is built around a condition of the individuals that restricts the possibilities of individuals as if they were confined to a bounded space (i.e., to a type of location). Similarly to the SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION cultural model, the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model presents a considerably negative conception of SHAME. The salience of the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model seems to be similar in the Indian and the American contexts. The identified

differences in Indian and American manifestations of the cultural models are believed to reflect characteristics of the Indian and the American sociocultural contexts.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and future research

The final chapter is divided into three sections. The first section attempts to bring together the findings discussed in the body of the dissertation. In the second section, the results are reviewed in light of the hypotheses and research questions introduced at the beginning of the dissertation, in Chapter 1. The third section lists options of continuing the study presented in this dissertation in the frame of future research.

9.1 Discussion of findings

The dissertation aimed to explore how the concept of shame is present and understood in the Indian and the American contexts. The basic argument was that bodily experiences provide a potentially universal motivation in the conceptualization of emotions, but the context in which conceptualization happens has the potential to significantly shape body-based understanding. Shame was chosen as the target of examination because the features of this emotion make it a context-dependent concept. As such, a study of shame in two contexts with considerably different sociocultural characteristics was expected to illustrate the potential effect of context on conceptualization.

Shame is considered as a context-dependent emotion for the following reasons. First, the concept of the SELF is inherent in the definition of shame and the understanding of SELF is largely determined by the value systems that prevail in particular sociocultural contexts. Because the Indian and the American contexts are dominated by different value systems, this characteristic of shame foreshadows differences in conceptualization. Second, shame is a complex, social emotion, which makes the concept appear on two different layers: (1) as the individual impacted by the emotion perceives shame (shame as an individual experience) and (2) as the individual's shame impacts those related to the individual (shame as a social, public experience). The value systems that dominate the Indian and the American contexts influence which layer is more emphasized in conceptualization.

Besides the prevalent value systems, additional characteristics of the Indian and the American contexts seem to influence the conceptualization of shame. The Indian and the American contexts were approached in the *offline* sense, and the following features were considered as decisive in the understanding of SHAME: the dominant ideologies (i.e., the definition of the concept of the SELF), the preferred value systems (i.e., collectivist or individualist value systems), the philosophies (i.e., Puritanism, Hinduism, the Rasa aesthetic theory), and the gender and power relations characteristic of the contexts. Folk theories of emotion were considered as elements of the context that influence Indian and American conceptualizations of shame.

The main objective of the dissertation was the identification of the cognitive-cultural models (that is, the folk understanding) of shame in the Indian and the American contexts. The following research questions were raised in Chapter 1 and answered in the body of the dissertation:

- Which conceptual metaphors motivate Indian and American conceptualizations of shame?
- Which conceptual metonymies motivate Indian and American conceptualizations of shame?
- What other concepts are related to SHAME in the two contexts?
- What are the causes of shame in the two contexts?
- How is shame evaluated? Is it a positive or a negative emotion in the two contexts?

The dissertation adopted the cognitive linguistic approach to the folk understanding of emotions, namely that cognitive-cultural models are the "joint product of (possibly universal) actual human physiology, conceptualized physiology (metonymy), metaphor, cultural model (with its schematic basic structure) and the broader cultural context" (Kövecses, 1995c, p. 70). They are "best described as consisting of a number of conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies and related concepts" (Kövecses, 2017b). The analysis of SHAME means the examination of the elements of the concept: the conceptual metaphors, the conceptual metonymies, the related concepts, the causes and the cultural-cognitive models of the emotion. The contextual features mentioned above were detectable in all these elements. The linguistic examples obtained from Indian English and American English online corpora served as the source of the analysis in exploring folk theories of shame through language.

In exploring the potential causes of shame, major themes were identified with a manual examination of the database. Taking as a basis the findings of Krawczak (2014), examples for the following cause types were identified: 1) bodily causes, (2) dubious social status, (3) inadequacy, (4) insecurity, (5) social failure, (6) social norm violation, and (7) social status loss. The identified causes are the triggers of shame as a negative concept. They reflect the features of the Indian and the American contexts.

Several linguistic expressions in the Indian English database suggest that the Indian concept of shame is linked to women, customs, social relations and social roles. These causes present the emotion in such a way that it is more a social, public phenomenon, rather than an individualized, private experience. Gender relations characteristic of the context also appear in relation to the causes: women as "secondary social beings" appear much more often as causes of shame (as a negative experience) than men do (Chhibber, 2014). Because of the importance of traditions, causes like pollution or periods appear in this context. In the

interpretation of these, it is easy to detect the definition of SELF as an interdependent concept, as well as the preference for collectivist values. The shame of periods in association with the female body, for instance, is the shame of the individual, yet it is primarily interpreted through its effects on the community.

As opposed to this, the American English linguistic data generally point to causes that are associated with the personal weakness or failure of the individual. Linguistic examples often refer to disease or aging as sources of shame caused by the individual's weakness, as well as to the failure to perform male and female gender-based life tasks. Aging and diseases are interpreted as the loss of individual strength. They are considered forms of weakness that contradict the preferred American values. Failure to fulfill gender-based female tasks (e.g., marriage, having children) or gender-based male tasks (e.g., procreation) are considered as the individual's failure. These causes and their interpretations reveal the American sociocultural features, namely that the SELF is typically an independent self. Also, they indicate the preference for individualist values in the American context.

Important in the findings is that the causes of shame are both external and internal. The sociocultural external values (features of the context) are internalized and, as such, the identified causes are potential causes of shame in the eyes of others and also in the eye of the individual who experiences shame. The relation between external and internal causes of shame is essential to see how sociocultural characteristics create context-specific triggers for the emotion.

The collocation analysis of the databases led to similar results. With this method, 14 concepts were identified as related to the Indian concept of shame, and 15 concepts were detected as related to the American concept of shame. The related concepts of SHAME obtained from the Indian English corpora indicate that shame is a potentially gender-loaded concept in the Indian context (hence the outstanding collocation strength of lexical items evoking the concept of WOMAN with shame). In the Indian context, the concepts related to SHAME suggest two opposing views of shame. Most concepts (e.g., ILLNESS, FAILURE, PUNISHMENT, SUFFERING) in the Indian English database suggest a negative understanding of shame. There are some (e.g., HONOR, RESPECT, TIMIDITY, SHYNESS, PRIDE), however, that indicate a positive interpretation of the concept. Timidity is considered as a desired individual trait (especially of women) in the Indian context (Sharma, 2004). SHYNESS and PRIDE further have a positive connotation in Indian culture (Sharma, 2004). The number of concepts related to shame with a positive connotation seems to be higher in the Indian English database, which suggests that the positive understanding of shame is more salient in the Indian context. The findings of the collocation analysis refer to main features of the Indian context in that the concepts TRADITION and COMMUNITY are strongly linked to shame in the Indian English database. It is probably the outstanding role of the community that is

illustrated by the forms in which CONTROL as a concept related to shame appears (e.g., *compliance*, *expectation*, *manners*, *supervision*). The finding that mostly indicates the effect of context on conceptualization is that LAJJA appears as strongly related SHAME in the Indian English database. The concept of *lajja*, in the frame of Rasa aesthetic theory, is the main virtue the possession of which enables honorable and respected forms of living.

Related concepts identified in the American English corpus seem to reflect the features of the American sociocultural context. WEAKNESS and FAILURE appear as related concepts of SHAME, which, based on the analysis of the causes of shame, are the primary triggers of the emotion in the American context. Shame appears as a consequence of failing to live up to the main individualist traits. Several of the related concepts refer to the manually identified causes of shame (e.g., POVERTY, ADDICTION, OBESITY, AGE or OCCUPATION) in the American English database. The concept CONTROL mostly evokes the scenario of FIGHT. This is in sharp contrast with the collocates denoting the concept CONTROL in the Indian English database. Whereas the collocates of the Indian English corpus presume a scenario where the individual is in a state of control, the collocates of the American English corpus indicate a scenario where the possession of control is not yet decided. The collocates evoking the FIGHT scenario within the concept CONTROL potentially refer to the preference for individualist traits in the American context. Namely that the individual's interest is in the foreground and, therefore, individuals are expected to be physically and mentally strong, as well as self-centered in order to ensure their social survival in a context that is dominated by competition. These traits are evoked by the following concepts related to SHAME in the American English database: PERSEVERANCE, STRENGTH, and CONFIDENCE. The related concepts refer to the two opposing views of shame. Similarly to the Indian English corpora, there are related concepts of shame with negative and positive connotations in the American English corpus as well. In the American English corpus, however, significantly more concepts can be identified that refer to the negative interpretation of SHAME. These are, for instance, NEGATIVE CONCEPTS, WEAKNESS, or FAILURE. Additional emotion concepts related to SHAME identified in the American English database further suggest a dominantly negative view of shame (e.g., ANGER, FEAR, RAGE, DREAD, or SADNESS).

The conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies identified in the databases supplement the findings about potential causes and concepts related to shame. The metaphorical and metonymical conceptualization of shame illustrate the fundamental role the body plays in conceptualization. The role of the body is inherent in most of the conceptual metaphors identified in the databases. Among others, shame is a liquid that is *located in the body* (SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER), it is a substance that *covers the surface of the body* (SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER/SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER), or it causes people *pain* and *suffering* (*in the body*) (SHAME IS A DISEASE).

The (conscious and unconscious) bodily experiences with shame are at the core of the metonymical conceptualization of the concept as well. They depict typical physiological, physical and behavioral responses to the emotion. These motivate metonymical linguistic expressions like *blush in shame*, *hide the face in shame* or *withdraw in shame*. The effect of context is palpable in the salience of conceptual metaphors and in the details of metaphorical and metonymical conceptualizations in the two contexts. Among others, conceptual metaphors that indiciate a postive understanding of shame are significantly more salient in the Indian Englis database. Conceptual metaphors that refer to the negative evaluation of shame dominate the American English database. As for the details of metaphorical and metonymical conceptualization, the American concept of shame appears more like an individualized concept, while the Indian concept of shame as a social phenomenon.

The language-based analysis of the Indian concept of *lajja* supplements the findings about the Indian concept of shame. The Indian English linguistic expressions of *lajja* suggest that the LAJJA and the Indian concept of shame are in a metonymical relationship. As such, the concept of lajja is inherently linked to the Indian concept of shame. The findings of the language-based analysis support the argument of the literature (e.g., Bhawuk, 2017). Namely that the prototypical understanding of lajja is that it is a positive value in possession of which the individual is respected. *Lajja* is a force that prevents that the individual performs inappropriate forms of behavior. The language-based analysis of *lajja* indicates that the concept has a negative understanding in contemporary India. Essentially, the concept of *lajja* seems to be linked to the concept of women, which, in relation to shame, supports the finding that the Indian concept of shame is potentially gender-loaded.

The identified causes, related concepts, conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies point to three cognitive-cultural models of SHAME the Indian and the American contexts seem to share. These are the SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION, SHAME AS A STATE, and SHAME AS A PROPERTY cultural models. All three models are considered prototypical in both contexts. Differences in the Indian and the American versions of the model are detected in the details of the cultural models, in their assumed salience, or in which folk theory of EMOTION motivates the cultural models.

The “Rational vs. Emotional” folk understanding seems to motivate the SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION cultural model. This cultural model appears to have a similar salience in the Indian and the American contexts. Whereas it presents SHAME more like a public concept in the Indian context, it depicts the emotion in a more individualized and private form in the American context. The “Emotion as virtue” cultural model seems to motivate a subtype of the SHAME AS A PROPERTY cultural model: SHAME AS A VIRTUE. This cultural

model seems to be specific to the Indian context. The understanding of SHAME in terms of this model is tightly linked to LAJJA, a focal concept in Indian culture (Menon and Shweder, 2010). The cultural model SHAME AS A VIRTUE appears to stem from the folk understanding of emotions as related to the Rasa theory of Indian aesthetics. The other subtype of the SHAME AS A PROPERTY cultural model is present in both the Indian and the American contexts, but it appears to be more salient in the former.

The third cultural model, SHAME AS A STATE seems to be motivated by a folk theory of emotions not considered in the literature review of the dissertation. It is suggested that the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model illustrates a folk theory of emotions the master metaphor of which is (EMOTIONAL) STATES ARE LOCATIONS. This is a sub-metaphor within the Event Structure metaphor (Lakoff et al., 1989). The understanding of SHAME in this model is built around a condition of the individuals that restricts the possibilities of individuals as if they were confined to a bounded space (i.e., to a type of location). Similarly to the SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION cultural model, the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model presents a considerably negative conception of SHAME. The salience of the SHAME AS A STATE cultural model seems to be similar in the Indian and the American contexts. The identified differences in Indian and American manifestations of the cultural models are believed to reflect characteristics of the Indian and the American sociocultural contexts.

9.2 The hypotheses of the dissertation

Let us discuss the hypotheses of the dissertation in light of the findings. The main hypothesis of the dissertation regarding folk theories was the following:

Because of biology-based conceptualization, there are folk conceptions of the emotion the Indian and the American contexts share. At the same time, differences in the sociocultural characteristics of the two contexts lead to different cognitive-cultural models of shame. The sociocultural characteristics that appear to be relevant in the conceptualization of shame are dominant ideologies (i.e., the definition of SELF), the preferred value systems (i.e., collectivist or individualist value systems), the philosophies (i.e., Puritanism, Hinduism, the Rasa aesthetic theory), and the gender and power relations characteristic of the contexts. Indian and American folk theories of emotions can be interpreted as contextual factors that potentially lead to differences in the understanding of shame.

The findings of the dissertation support this main hypothesis. The three cultural models of shame (SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION, SHAME AS A STATE, and SHAME AS A PROPERTY) are identified in the Indian and the American linguistic data. The three models present shame in different ways. Nevertheless, the body-based conceptualization of shame is a fundamental part of all three models.

The first (SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION) describes shame as a negative experience, which is an on-the-spot reaction to a cause, and in which the individual's balance is distorted by the emotion and the individual becomes imbalanced. Several metaphorical and metonymical interpretations capture the emotion through bodily experiences in this model. The fundamental role of the body is visible in the following conceptual metaphors that constitute this model: SHAME IS HEAT (shame *burns*), SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER (shame *on* the person), or SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER (person *full of* shame). It is further prevalent in the following conceptual metonymies constituting this cultural model: HIDE THE BODY/BODY PARTS STAND FOR SHAME (hiding the body in order to make shame cease to exist).

In the second model (SHAME AS A STATE), shame is a state in which the individual finds himself/herself to some degree and for some reason. In this interpretation shame is, again, negative, and the metaphorical interpretations of this state essentially have a bodily basis. The conceptual metaphors of this understanding are, among others, the following: SHAME IS A DISEASE (person *suffers* from shame), SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER (the person is *wrapped in* shame), SHAME IS A BURDEN (the person *carries* the baggage of shame), SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE (shame is *attached to* the person) or BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE (the person *lives in* shame). A possible manifestation of this cultural model is the WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy (the person disappearing as a sign of shame, disappearance is literally the disappearance of the person's body from the scene) in the following situation, for instance. In the Indian context, there are situations where people from lower castes leave the scene when people from upper castes appear (Pillari, 2005).

The role of body is essential in the third model (SHAME AS A PROPERTY) as well. An illustration of the role of the body is the understanding of shame in terms of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor (shame – as a positive value – *lives* in the person in order to prevent that the person performs an inappropriate act). In this model, body-based metonymical understanding happens in terms of the BLUSHING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) SHAME conceptual metonymy, which, according to Bhawuk (2017), is a positively perceived bodily reaction (if performed by women in the presence of men) in the Indian context.

Body-based conceptualization is at the core of all cultural models. Differences in content, among others, are the result of how these bodily reactions are interpreted in light of Indian and American sociocultural features. The BLUSHING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is a perfect example of the power of context in shaping conceptualization. In the Indian context, blushing as a reaction to shame performed by women as a sign of possessing

shame has a highly positive connotation, because it is considered as a manifestation of possessing the main properties women are desired to have (shyness, timidity, bashfulness, etc.) (Bhawuk, 2017). This positive connotation stems from the sociocultural factors characteristic of the Indian context. In the American context, however, blushing or the reddening of the face as a manifestation of shame does not have such a positive connotation because there is no sociocultural factor in this context that would call for a positive evaluation of such an act. This physical reaction has no particular evaluation or - considering that shame is an overall negative concept in the American context - it has a negative connotation as it reveals that the person did something or is involved in something that is inappropriate, wrong, and should be frowned upon.

Another nice illustration is the metaphorical understanding of the concept in terms of the SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor. The Indian English linguistic expressions reflect this metaphor when they make reference to shame both as a negative and as a positive emotion. Shame is a negative concept if it *rankles the mind* or *clogges one's throat*, but it is a positive concept if shame is *inside the person* to encourage appropriate forms of behavior. The American English linguistic expressions of the CONTAINER metaphor illustrate the negative conception of shame only. Similarly, the metaphorical linguistic expressions of the SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor both refer to positive and negative conceptions of shame in the Indian English database. The positive interpretation of shame in the linguistic expressions of the CONTAINER source domain is not detected in the American English database.

It is the concept of *lajja* that suggests an understanding of shame that is motivated by a culture specific folk conception of emotions. In Indian concepts of shame, the concept of *lajja* appears as a synonym of *shame* (in both the positive and negative senses of the concept). Also, there are cases where speakers of Indian English use the words *lajja* or *sharam* (Urdu word for *lajja*) in reference to shame. In the frame of Rasa aesthetic theory, *lajja* is the main virtue that includes all the other virtues individuals are expected to possess. This religious philosophical basis gives the central meaning of *lajja*, namely that it is a highly positive concept. In the frame of Rasa aesthetic theory, *lajja* is an internal force that withholds the individual from inappropriate forms of action. Primarily it is through this meaning that the concept of *lajja* is connected to the positive interpretation of shame, but LAJJA further supplements the Indian concept of shame with all the sociocultural content it is assigned with in the frame of Rasa theory.

Lajja is a focal concept in the Indian context (Menon and Shweder, 2010), which (in its relation to shame) indicates the primary importance of shame as a positive concept (that is, the ability to avoid shame as a negative experience). This is in line with a main sociocultural characteristic of the Indian context, namely that the community is in the

center. It is the interest of all individuals to prevent nonconformity and exclusion from the community. This interest lies at the heart of the concept of *lajja* and, linked to it, the perception of shame as a positive property. The understanding of shame, because of the nature of the emotion, cannot be described in the frame of the "Rational vs. emotional" folk model. SHAME AS A STATE and SHAME AS A PROPERTY are alternative cultural models that arise from the complex, social nature of the concept. At the same time, SHAME AS A VIRTUE, a subtype of the SHAME AS A PROPERTY cultural model, in its relation to the LAJJA AS A VIRTUE cultural model, stems from a potentially culture specific folk theory of emotions. This findings illustrates that particular cultural models of SHAME arise from folk understandings of emotions that are specific to context.

The second hypothesis of the dissertation regarding the metaphorical interpretation of shame was the following.

As Kövecses (2005) explains, culture-specific metaphorical understanding comes in various ways: (1) the target domain is conceptualized in terms of different source domains across cultures (alternative conceptualization); (2) the target domain is understood in terms of the same source domains, but cultures have a preference for one source domain over the other (preferential conceptualization); and (3) both the target and the source domain "appear to be unique to a given language/culture" (unique conceptualization) (pp. 67-68). The hypothesis of the dissertation is that the Indian English and American English databases illustrate preferential, alternative and unique metaphorical conceptualizations. These have roots in the sociocultural features of the Indian and American contexts.

The findings of the dissertation support this hypothesis. Both the Indian English and American English databases illustrate preferential and alternative ways of conceptualization. Furthermore, in the Indian English corpora a potentially unique conceptual metaphor is identified. An indication of preferential conceptualization is the salience of the conceptual metaphors in the corpora. The conceptual metaphors with the highest salience are central in the understanding of SHAME. The conceptual metaphors with the lowest salience are peripheral in the understanding of SHAME. The most salient conceptual metaphors in both databases are, for instance, the following: SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT and SHAME IS AN OPPONENT. In terms of salience, the SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor is outstanding in the Indian English corpora (the 7th in salience), while it is peripheral in the American English corpus (it is the 16th in salience).

The finding that difference is detected in the preference for conceptual metaphors reflects the sociocultural characteristics of the context. This is how context is able to shape conceptualization. Again, social conformity is emphasized in the Indian context and, as

such, the possession of shame (that is, the ability to avoid shameful actions) is of primary importance. In contrast to this, individualist values dominate the American sociocultural context and, therefore, the conceptualization of SHAME, at large, is negative, instead of focusing on the ability to avoid shame (as a positive concept). This difference in the two contexts in itself explains why shame is more of a public concept in the Indian approach to the emotion and more of a privatized concept in the American approach.

The Indian English database shows potentially unique forms of conceptualization. An example of this is the conceptual metonymy LAJJA IS A JEWEL. The concept of LAJJA is specific to Indian culture. As such, it is a culturally unique target domain. JEWEL as a source domain is potentially unique in the sense that it does not seem to motivate the metaphorical understanding of other emotion concepts. This, however, is certainly an intuition-based statement unsupported by research results.

The third hypothesis of the dissertation regarding the metonymical conceptualization of shame was the following:

Both identical and different metonymical interpretations can be identified in the Indian English and American English databases. Conceptual metonymies that turn out to be potentially culture-specific have roots in the features of the Indian and American contexts.

The results of the dissertation support this hypothesis, as the linguistic data from the databases refer to conceptual metonymies that also motivate the Indian and American conceptions of SHAME. In addition, there are conceptual metonymies in the Indian English database that the American English linguistic data do not refer to.

The EFFECT OF EMOTION STANDS FOR EMOTION conceptual metonymy type (INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME, DOWNWARD ORIENTATION STANDS FOR SHAME, SHRINKING IN SIZE STANDS FOR SHAME, WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME, HIDING THE BODY/BODY PARTS STANDS FOR SHAME, DYING STANDS FOR SHAME or CRYING STANDS FOR SHAME) dominates both databases. These refer to shame in language through the typical physiological, physical and behavioral reactions triggered by the emotion. There is an overlap in the understanding of shame in terms of the CAUSE OF EMOTION STANDS FOR EMOTION conceptual metonymy type as well. *Body shame* or *fat shame* appear as examples in both databases. These compounds are metonymical in the sense that the causes of the shame (being fat, not having the appropriate body shape) stand for (the types of) shame the compounds name. They are believed to denote topics related to shame that are relevant in the Indian and the American sociocultural contexts.

Interestingly, the same metonymical interpretation may take on different meanings as a result of the context. As described earlier, it is possible that the BLUSHING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy appears in somewhat different ways in the two contexts. Similarly, the understanding in terms of the DYING STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is different to a certain extent. As referred to in the analysis in Section 6.2, the Indian English linguistic expressions of this conceptual metonymy and the ones that refer to real cases of death illustrate that suicide is committed in order to dissolve the shame of the individual and, hence, the shame of others related to the individual. Because the concept of honor is significant in the Indian context (an individual's honor is the honor of those who are related to the individual), the death of the person of shame is also an act of restoring honor (that of the person in shame and those related to the person as well). In the American English corpus, there are no examples for this metonymical interpretation. In the American English corpus, the number of expressions referring to death as a real consequence of shame is also negligible.

An example of context-specific metonymical conceptualization is the BITING ONE'S TONGUE STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy, which is evoked by one linguistic expression in the Indian English database. This metonymical interpretation is, according to the literature reviewed (e.g., Haidt and Keltner, 1999, Lewis, 2008, Menon and Shweder, 2010), potentially specific to India. The *bite one's tongue* idiom, related to Hindu mythology, is part of the understanding of shame in Orissa, India (Menon and Shweder, 2010).

The effect of the context is further detectable in the salience of the identified conceptual metonymies. The INCREASED BODY HEAT STANDS FOR SHAME conceptual metonymy is central in both contexts. Whereas its salience in the Indian English database is not much higher than the salience of further dominant conceptual metonymies (e.g., the salience of this conceptual metonymy is 56.78%, the salience of the second most central conceptual metonymy, DOWNWARD ORIENTATION STANDS FOR SHAME, is 49.14%), this conceptual metonymy is by far the most outstanding in salience compared to the rest of conceptual metonymies in the American English database (it dominates the corpus with a salience of 70.64%, the conceptual metonymy WITHDRAWAL STANDS FOR SHAME is second in salience with 28.36%). It is plausible to claim that physiology-based metonymical conceptualization dominates the American understanding of SHAME, while this is not the case in the Indian context. The physiology-based conceptualization of SHAME implies an interpretation of the concept that essentially (but not necessarily in all cases) takes place from the perspective of the individual. This is because the increase of heat happens in the conceptualizer's body. The dominance of physiology-based conceptualization may be considered as an indicator of shame being more a private experience, not a social one, in the American context.

The fourth hypothesis of the dissertation regarding the potential causes of shame was the following:

A review of psychological literature on shame clearly shows that there are many possible causes of this emotion and they are not easy to define. Taking the research results of Tsai et al. (2002) as a basis, namely that the causes of shame are related to the features of the context, it is hypothesized that the language-based analysis of shame refers to causes of the emotion that reflect the sociocultural characteristics of the Indian and the American contexts.

The findings of the dissertation support this hypothesis. It has to be emphasized that the potential causes of shame were explored in the frame of a manual analysis of the corpora and, as such, the analysis was subjective. It is not to claim that the causes identified in the dissertation are the only potential causes of shame in the two contexts. Altogether 10 possible causes of shame are identified in the Indian English corpora, and 8 possible causes of shame are spotted in the American English corpora.

The identified causes provide valuable information about the similarities and the differences of the Indian and the American concepts of SHAME. There are several potential causes of shame that seem to be context-specific. Examples of this in Indian English database are, among others, the practice of dowry, the case system or widowhood as sources of shame. An example of context-specificity is the concept of aging in the American English database.

There are causes that are identified in both databases, but for different reasons. Divorce is a possible cause of shame in both contexts. Whereas in the Indian context it is a cause of shame because of violating social norms (divorce is not part of the Indian concept of marriage as the prototype of marriage is arranged marriage in the Indian context), in the American context divorce is a cause of shame because it is a sign of individual failure and weakness (e.g., the partners' low performance in the relationship).

The fifth hypothesis of the dissertation regarding the way shame is viewed was the following:

Studies indicate that shame tends to be negatively perceived in "Western cultures" (e.g., Tracey et al., 2007), but positively evaluated in Asian cultures (e.g., Menon and Schweder, 2010, Kitayama and Kurokawa, 2000, Rozin and Cohen, 2003, Li and Fischer, 2004, Scollon et al., 2004). It is hypothesized that the language-based analysis of shame leads to similar results. It is assumed that shame is more a positive concept in Indian culture, while it is a more negative concept in American culture.

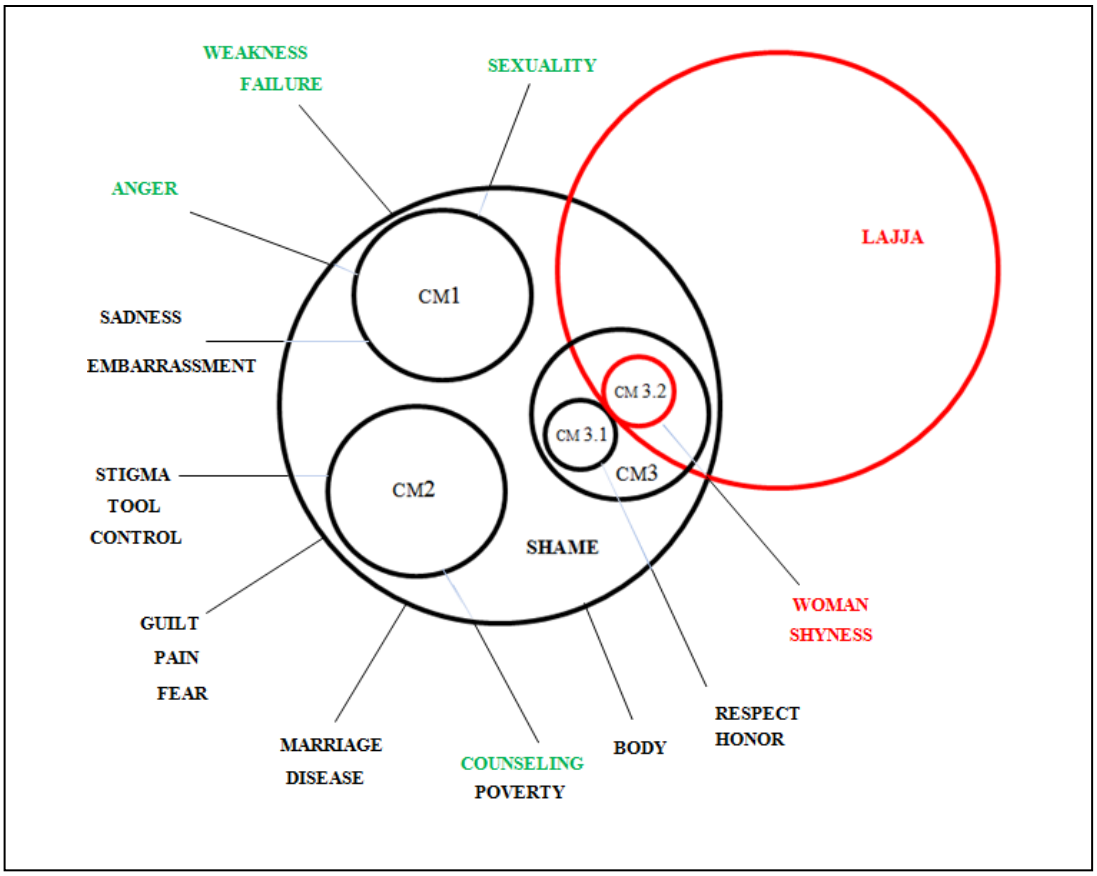
The results of the dissertation support this hypothesis, with the following important note. Shame is essentially a negative concept and experience in both contexts. Because of the sociocultural features, it is such a negative experience in the Indian context that the need to avoid it leads to the salience of the positive conception of shame. Shame as a positive concept refers to the ability to avoid shame. This is a metonymy-based interpretation: THE ABILITY TO PREVENT SHAME (AS A NEGATIVE EXPERIENCE) STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF SHAME) AS POSITIVE VALUE. The significance of this interpretation is substantiated by LAJJA as a key concept, which involves the virtues needed for a social existence that is shame-free and compliant with values, as well as the ability to avoid shame. The linguistic data suggests that shame is clearly viewed negatively in the American context. The folk understanding of shame as a property is detectable in the American English database, but it seems to be peripheral as compared to the Indian English database.

The sixth and last hypothesis of the dissertation regarding the related concepts of shame was the following:

Taking the results of scientific approaches to shame as a basis (e.g., Kaufman, 1989, Lewis, 1995, Gilbert, 1998, Tracey et al., 2007), it is hypothesized that concepts like guilt, embarrassment and morality, which possibly are concepts universally related to shame, will be identified in the analysis. It is further hypothesized that context-specific concepts will also be detected. The main assumption regarding the related concepts of SHAME is that the network of concepts against which shame is understood in the Indian and the American contexts is somewhat different. The difference comes from the sociocultural characteristics of the two contexts.

The findings of the dissertation support this hypothesis. Both the Indian English and American English databases refer to related concepts like MORALITY, ETHICS, EMBARRASSMENT or GUILT. As such, the dissertation supports the findings of scientific approaches to shame. Because of the sociocultural features of the context, however, a somewhat different network of concepts is identified. This network of concepts is sometimes connected to the emotion as parts of the cultural-cognitive models. At other times, they are parts of the matrix of concepts embedded in which shame derives its meaning in the Indian and the American contexts. The effect of the context on the related concepts of shame appears as described in the first section of this chapter. Combining the cultural models and the related concepts of shame identified in the dissertation, the Indian and the American conceptual category of SHAME can be visualized as presented in Figure 2:

Figure 2: The Indian and the American conceptual category of SHAME [33]



9.3 Future research

Potential further research projects could testify and contribute to the findings discussed in the dissertation. The first such study could involve the comparison of the Indian concepts of *lajja* and shame across languages. The theoretical objective of the dissertation is that the understanding of culture-specific emotion concepts can be explored in nativized varieties of English. The findings illustrate that it is possible to identify culture-specific conceptions in local varieties of the English language. The Indian English linguistic expressions that illustrate the phenomenon of code-switching (in which the local terms *lajja* or *sharam* are used to describe the shame scenario), and the Indian English and American English

[33] In this figure, CM1 referst to the cultural model SHAME AS AN IMMEDIATE REACTION. CM2 refers to the cultural model SHAME AS A STATE. CM3 refers to the cultural model SHAME AS A PROPERTY. These are elements of the conceptual category of SHAME. There are two models within CM3. CM 3.1 is the cultural model SHAME AS A POSITIVE VALUE. CM 3.2 is the cultural model SHAME AS A VIRTUE. The cultural models in black circles are cultural models the Indian and the American contexts seem to share. The cultural model in red circle is a cultural model specific to the Indian context. The culturlal model in the red circle is part of the conceptual category SHAME as well as the conceptual category LAJJA, which is specific to the Indian context. In the Indian context, the conceptual categories SHAME and LAJJA overlap. The concepts written in black, red and green are sample concepts related to SHAME. Not all identified related concepts are present in the figure. The ones in red seem to be related to the Indian concept of shame, while the ones in green to the American concept of shame. The ones in black appear in both contexts. These concepts are linked to the conceptual category SHAME as well as to the particular cognitive-cultural models of SHAME within the conceptual category.

linguistic examples themselves, being local varieties, reflect the sociocultural characteristics of the context in which they are created by the speakers of these varieties. In order to check and possibly extend the results about the Indian concept of shame in the dissertation, a comparative study of Urdu/Hindi linguistic expressions of *sharam* and *lajja* and Indian English linguistic expressions of *shame* would be useful. Although the belief is that the intended meaning is expressed in Indian English as a localized variety, it is possible that instances of cultural conceptualizations of *lajja* could be explored in Urdu/Hindi descriptions of the concept that are not detected in the Indian English descriptions.

The second possible continuation of the dissertation is again directed at the concept of *lajja*. The findings of the dissertation indicate that the central meaning of *lajja* is that it is a positive concept. It is this meaning that *lajja* primarily lends to the Indian concept of shame as a positive concept. At the same time, there are cases when *lajja* appears as a negative concept, firstly because it is the synonym of shame as a negative concept, secondly because compliance with values and expectations represented by *lajja* is seen as a burden. The understanding of *lajja* as a burden is mostly reflected in responses from younger participants in the Indian survey. Without exception, members of the older generations view *lajja* as positive in the survey. This finding suggests that younger generations potentially question the "original" meaning of *lajja* as a value. It is possible that the shift in interpretation comes as a result of the influence of globalization, one's place of living, or educational, social, or family background. An interesting continuation of the dissertation would be the examination of the concept across generations in India, and an attempt to explore the factors that are responsible for the potential difference in interpretation.

Final options of future research are related to the hypotheses encountered in the dissertation, in the course of the analysis of the linguistic data. Firstly, it would be interesting to check whether there are traces of the "Rational vs. Emotional" folk understanding of emotions as motivated by the notion of the four humors in the Indian sociocultural context. The notion of the four humors is believed to be the source of the "Euro-American conceptualization of" emotions (Geeraerts and Grondelaers, 1995), there is no research evidence, however, that the philosophy in not alive in one form or another in Indian culture. Secondly, it would be worth conducting a source-domain oriented cognitive linguistic analysis of JEWEL in order to see whether it a unique source domain of the concept of *lajja* or it motivates the conceptualization of other emotions as well. Thirdly, a thorough analysis of folk understandings in terms of the EMOTIONS AS STATES model identified in the dissertation could contribute to the cognitive linguistic literature on prototypical cultural models of emotions.

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Appendix

An illustration of MIP to detect metaphorical and metonymical language use

1. The identification of metaphorical linguistic expressions with MIP

The MIP is used in order to see which linguistic expressions are metaphorical. The steps of the MIP are quoted below (The Pragglejaz Group, 2007):

> Step 1. Read the entire text-discourse[34] to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
> Step 2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.
> Step 3. For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
> Step 4. For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts that the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
> - More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste.
> - Related to bodily action.
> - More precise (as opposed to vague)
> - Historically older.
>
> Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
> Step 5. If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts that the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it
> Step 6. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (p. 3).

An illustration of applying the MIP in the dissertation is provided below. The following is an example sentence from the Indian English database:

*However she was apparently so overcome by **shame** that she stubbornly refused to reveal the room number or the name of the perpetrator.*

However/ she/ was/ apparently/ so/ overcome/ by/ shame/ that/ she/ stubbornly/ refused/ to/ reveal/ the/ room/ number/ of/ the/ perpetrator

However

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, the adverb "however" introduces an action that happens contrary to the expectations.
(b) basic meaning[35]: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary[36], "however" means (i) "in whatever manner or way," (ii) "in spite of that," and (iii) "how in the world."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning does not contrast the basic meaning. "However" in the sentence means (ii) "in spite of that."
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

She

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, the pronoun "she" refers to a woman who experienced shame.

[34] A modification in the process is that each sample sentence of *shame*, *sharam* and *lajja* taken from the corpora is examined as they appear in the context of 4 additional sentences (2 before and 2 after the sample sentence of *shame*, *sharam* and *lajja*). If the context of 4 further sentences was not sufficient in the analysis, a larger context was examined. In the case of sample sentences of *shame*, *sharam* and *lajja* from the surveys, the entire discourse was studied.

[35] Basic meanings are given on the basis of definitions looked up either in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary) or the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online (http://www.ldoceonline.com/).

(b) basic meaning: The pronoun refers to a female entity.
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Was

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, the past tense, first person verb refers to the woman, namely that she "*was* overcome by shame."
(b) basic meaning: The basic meaning of "was" is the existence of the entity.
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Apparently

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, "apparently" has the same meaning as the basic meaning.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "apparently" is "used to describe something that appears to be true based on what is known."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

So

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, "so" appears as an intensifier of being "overcome." It is the first part of the conjunction "so that."
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "so" means "to a great extent or degree, very, extremely."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Overcome

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, the verb "overcome" refers to a state when the person ("she") is under the control of shame.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the meaning of "overcome" includes the following: "to gain superiority."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning is understood in comparison with the basic meaning. Shame is an opponent that gains control over the woman.
(d) Metaphorically used? Yes.

By

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, the preposition "by" introduces the entity that gains control over the person ("she").
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "by" means"through."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning and the basic meaning are the same.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Shame

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, "shame" appears as the force "by" which the woman is "overcome"
(b) basic meaning: According to the definition given in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "shame" among others, is "a painful emotion caused by consciousness of guilt, shortcoming, or impropriety."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning and the basic meaning are in contrast. The basic meaning refers to a painful emotion, but in the context shame appears as a force that has the ability to "overcome" someone.
(d) Metaphorically used? Yes.

That

(a) contextual meaning: In the context, "that" is the second word in the conjunction "so that." It introduces the woman's actions are a result of being "overcome by shame."
(b) basic meaning: According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online, the basic meaning is the following: "in order to make something happen, make something possible."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

She

(a) contextual meaning: In this context, the pronoun "she" refers to a woman who experienced shame.
(b) basic meaning: The pronoun refers to a female entity.
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Stubbornly

(a) contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "stubbornly" means "refusing to change your ideas or to stop doing something."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Refused

(a) contextual meaning: This is the past tense form of "refuse." The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "refuse" means "to show or express unwillingness to do something."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

To

(a) contextual meaning: The contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "to" is "used as a function word to indicate that the following verb is an infinitive."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Reveal

(a) contextual meaning: The same as the basic meaning.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "reveal" means "to make (something secret or hidden) publicly or generally known."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

The

(a) contextual meaning: This is the definite article before "room number."
(b) basic meaning: "The" is a definite article.
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Room

(a) contextual meaning: The noun "room" goes together with "number" in the sentence. It is the location of the "perpetrator."

(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "room" is "an extent of space occupied by or sufficient or available for something."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Number
(a) contextual meaning: The noun "number" goes together with "room" in the sentence. It indicates the location of the "perpetrator."
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "number" is "a sum of units."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Of
(a) contextual meaning: The preposition indicates the relationship between "the room number" and "the perpetrator."
(b) basic meaning. According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online, "of" is "used to show who something or someone belongs to or has a connection with."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

The
(a) contextual meaning: This is the definite article before "perpetrator."
(b) basic meaning: "The" is a definite article.
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

Perpetrator
(a) contextual meaning: The noun "perpetrator" refers to the person who did an action that caused shame.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online, "perpetrator" is "someone who does something morally wrong or illegal."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the contextual and the basic meaning.
(d) Metaphorically used? No.

2. The identification of metonymical linguistic expressions with MIP

In line with Zhang (2016), the steps of the adapted MIP[37] in identifying the metonymical linguistic expressions are as follows.

> Step 1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
> Step 2. (1) For the 'source expression' in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text. (…)
> Step 3. For each 'source expression,' determine its basic meaning, i.e., the literal meaning. (….)
> Step 4. Decide whether the contextual meaning of the lexical entry contrasts with the basic meaning but has a contiguous relationship with it. (Zhang, 2016, p. 188)
> Step 5. If yes, the lexical unit is metonymical.

[37] A modification in the process is that each sample sentence of *shame*, *sharam* and *lajja* taken from the corpora is examined as they appear in the context of 4 additional sentences (2 before and 2 after the sample sentence of *shame*, *sharam* and *lajja*). If the context of 4 further sentences was not sufficient for the analysis, a larger context was examined. In the case of sample sentences of *shame*, *sharam*, and *lajja* from the surveys, the entire discourse was studied.

An illustration of applying the adapted MIP in the dissertation is provided below. The following is an example sentence from the Indian English database:

Shame *turned her face red, for she noticed more than one satisfied smile.*

Shame/turned/her/face/red/for/she/noticed/more/than/one/satisfied/smile/decorating/their/lips

Shame
(a) contextual meaning: In the sentence, shame is the emotion that changes the color of the woman's face.
(b) basic meaning[38]: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "shame" is "a painful emotion caused by consciousness of guilt, shortcoming, or impropriety."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two, but the contextual meaning of "shame" highlights a particular aspect of the shame experience, namely that the emotion causes certain bodily reactions.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Turned
(a) contextual meaning: This is what the emotion does with the color of the woman's face.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "turn" means to "to cause to become of a specified nature or appearance" or "to convert and to transform."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Her
(a) contextual meaning: "Her" refers to the woman who is in shame.
(b) basic meaning: This is a pronoun which does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Face
(a) contextual meaning: "Face" is the body part of the person the color of which is changed in the state of shame.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the noun "face" refers to "the front part of the head that in humans extends from the forehead to the chin and includes the mouth, nose, cheeks, and eyes."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Red
(a) contextual meaning: This is the color to which the person's face turns because of shame.
(b) basic meaning: The Merriam-Webster online dictionary lists the following two basic meanings: "of the color red" and "having red as a distinguishing color."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning contrasts the basic meaning in the sense that "red" in the example sentence is a sign of shame. An increase in body temperature and, hence, the redness of the face is a physiological reaction to shame. The relationship between the contextual meaning of "red" and "shame" is based on contiguity.
(d) Metonymically used? Yes.

For
(a) contextual meaning: In the example sentence, "for" means "because."
(b) basic meaning: The Merriam-Webster Dictionary lists "because of" as a meaning of "for."
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: No contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

She

[38]Basic meanings are given on the basis of definitions looked up either in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary) or the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online (http://www.ldoceonline.com/).

(a) contextual meaning: “She” refers to the woman the face of whom turns red.
(b) basic meaning: This is a pronoun which does not have a more basic meaning.
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Noticed
(a) contextual meaning: “Noticed” is a synonym of “realized.”
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “to notice” means “to become aware of.”
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

More
(a) contextual meaning: “More” is the antonym of “less.” It refers to a particular amount of something.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “more” means “additional, further.”
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Than
(a) contextual meaning: This is a conjunction between “more” and “one.”
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “than” is “used as a function word with comparative adjectives and comparative adverbs.”
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

One
(a) contextual meaning: In the sentence is a number.
(b) basic meaning: According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, “one” is “the first whole number above zero.”
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Satisfied
(a) contextual meaning: This is the adjective before “smile.” It is a synonym of “content.”
(b) basic meaning: According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online, “satisfied” is a “feeling that something is as good as it should be, or that something has happened in the way that you want.”
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Smile
(a) contextual meaning: It is the “smile” that is “satisfied.” Smiling is a sign of being happy.
(b) basic meaning: The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online defines “smile” as “mak[ing] your mouth curve upwards, in order to be friendly or because you are happy or amused.”
(c) contextual meaning versus basic meaning: There is no contrast between the two.
(d) Metonymically used? No.

Table 9: Concepts related to the Indian concept of shame

Nr	Stat	Collocate	Related concept	Related concept category	Related concept type
1	5.63659	*women*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other
2	5.63659	*supervision*	SUPERVISION	CONTROL	other
3	5.63659	*riddance*	BURDEN	CONTROL	feeling state
4	5.22155	*traditions*	TRADITIONS	TRADITIONS	cause/other
5	5.05163	*compliance*	COMPLIANCE	CONTROL	other
6	5.05163	*withdraw*	INVISIBILITY	INVISIBILITY	consequence
7	4.95852	*confession*	VISIBILITY	VISIBILITY	feeling state
8	4.89962	*tame*	TIMIDITY	CHARACTERISTICS	other
9	4.85898	*dirty*	DIRT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
10	4.63659	*extols*	RESPECT	RESPECT	other
11	4.63659	*confessing*	VISIBILITY	VISIBILITY	feeling state
12	4.63659	*bankrupt*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
13	4.63659	*ailments*	SUFFERING	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
14	4.31466	*respectable*	RESPECT	RESPECT	other
15	4.31466	*praised*	RESPECT	RESPECT	other
16	4.17716	*shy*	SHYNESS	EMOTIONS	feeling state
17	4.05163	*stigmas*	STIGMA	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
18	4.0516	*honour*	HONOR	HONOR	other
19	3.72970	*respectfully*	RESPECT	RESPECT	other
20	3.63659	*harassing*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
21	3.46666	*females*	WOMEN	WOMEN	cause/other
22	3.41420	*dresses*	WOMEN	WOMEN	cause/other
23	3.38866	*abusing*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
24	3.31466	*widows*	WOMEN	WOMEN	cause/other
25	3.31466	*elderly*	ELDERS	COMMUNITY	other
26	3.31466	*dismal*	SADNESS	EMOTIONS	feeling state
27	3.31466	*abuser*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
28	3.31466	*pride*	PRIDE	EMOTIONS	feeling state
29	3.31466	*noble*	NOBILITY	CHARACTERISTICS	other
30	3.31466	*malnourishment*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
31	3.31466	*expectation*	EXPECTATION	CONTROL	cause
32	3.31466	*divorce*	MARRIAGE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
33	3.31466	*confinement*	CONFINEMENT	CONTROL	feeling state
34	3.31466	*ethics*	ETHICS	CONTROL	other
35	3.31466	*manners*	MANNERS	CONTROL	other
36	3.31466	*illness*	DISEASE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
37	3.31466	*polluted*	POLLUTION	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
38	3.31466	*moral*	MORALITY	CONTROL	other
39	3.31466	*weapon*	WEAPON	CONTROL	other
40	3.22155	*respected*	RESPECT	RESPECT	other

41	3.17716	*menstrual*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other
42	3.17716	*fail*	FAILURE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
43	3.17716	*defame*	HONOR	HONOR	other
44	3.13409	*cover*	COVER	INVISIBILITY	feeling state
45	3.13409	*attitudes*	ATTITUDE	CHARACTERISTICS	other
46	3.05163	*abusive*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
47	3.05163	*ladies*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other
48	3.05163	*suffered*	SUFFERING	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
49	3.05163	*morality*	MORALITY	CONTROL	other
50	3.05163	*social*	SOCIETY	COMMUNITY	other
51	3.05163	*fear*	FEAR	EMOTIONS	feeling state
52	3.05163	*customary*	CUSTOMS	TRADITIONS	cause/other
53	3.05163	*silence*	SILENCE	INVISIBILITY	other
54	3.05163	*marry*	MARRIAGE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
55	3.05163	*hide*	HIDE	INVISIBILITY	feeling state
56	3.05163	*traditional*	TRADITIONS	TRADITIONS	cause/other
57	3.05163	*embarrassment*	EMBARRASSMENT	EMOTIONS	feeling state
58	3.05163	*secret*	SECRET	INVISIBILITY	feeling state
59	3.05163	*dowry*	DOWRY	SOCIAL PHENOMENON	cause
60	3.05163	*bodies*	BODY	BODY	feeling state
61	3.05163	*punish*	PUNISHMENT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	consequence
62	3.05163	*socially*	SOCIETY	COMMUNITY	other
63	3.05163	*suicide*	SUICIDE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	consequence
64	3.04845	*publicly*	EXPOSURE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
65	3.04845	*menstruate*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other
66	3.04845	*Hinduism*	RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY	TRADITIONS	cause/other
67	3.04845	*religious*	RELIGION	TRADITIONS	cause/other
68	3.04845	*humiliation*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
69	3.04845	*property*	PROPERTY	CHARACTERISTICS	other
70	3.04845	*innocent*	INNOCENCE	CHARACTERISTICS	other
71	3.04845	*family*	FAMILY	COMMUNITY	other
72	3.04845	*guilt*	GUILT	EMOTIONS	feeling state
73	3.04845	*religion*	RELIGION	TRADITIONS	cause/other
74	3.04845	*periods*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other
75	3.00789	*brother*	BROTHER	COMMUNITY	other
76	3.00789	*friend*	FRIEND	COMMUNITY	other
77	3.00789	*sons*	SONS	COMMUNITY	other
78	3.00789	*ruling*	RULE	CONTROL	other
79	3.00789	*weight*	BURDEN	CONTROL	feeling state
80	3.00789	*protective*	PROTECTION	CHARACTERISTICS	other
81	3.00789	*sisters*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other
82	3.00789	*collective*	COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY	other
83	3.00789	*income*	MONEY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
84	3.00789	*daughter*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other
85	3.00265	*girls*	WOMAN	WOMAN	cause/other

86	3.00265	*husband*	HUSBAND	COMMUNITY	other
87	3.00265	*malnutrition*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
88	3.00265	*release*	BURDEN	CONTROL	feeling state
89	3.00265	*violence*	ABUSE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
90	3.00265	*sharam*	LAJJA	LAJJA	other
91	3.00265	*India*	COUNTRY	COMMUNITY	other
92	3.00265	*poor*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
93	3.00265	*community*	COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY	other
94	3.00265	*society*	SOCIETY	COMMUNITY	other
95	3.00178	*culture*	CULTURE	COMMUNITY	other
96	3.00178	*child*	COMMUNITY	COMMUNITY	other
97	3.00155	*threat*	FEAR	EMOTIONS	feeling state
98	3.00155	*parents*	PARENT	COMMUNITY	other
99	3.00155	*national*	NATION	COMMUNITY	other
100	3.00155	*money*	MONEY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause

Table 10: Concepts related to the American concept of shame

Nr	Stat	Collocate	Related concept	Related concept category	Related concept type
1	5.04125	*repressing*	REPRESSION	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
2	5.04125	*perseverance*	PERSEVERANCE	CHARACTERISTICS	other
3	5.04125	*injured*	PAIN	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
4	5.04125	*impairment*	WEAKNESS	WEAKNESS	feeling state/cause
5	4.62621	*fight*	FIGHT	CONTROL	feeling state
6	4.45629	*counseling*	COUNSELING	COUNSELING	other
7	4.45629	*painful*	PAIN	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
8	4.45629	*withstand*	RESISTANCE	CONTROL	other
9	4.45629	*victories*	FIGHT	CONTROL	other
10	4.45629	*venomous*	ANGER	EMOTIONS	feeling state
11	4.45629	*feared*	FEAR	EMOTIONS	feeling state
12	4.45629	*despairs*	DESPAIR	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
13	4.45629	*deprived*	DEPRIVAL	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
14	4.30428	*bodily*	BODY	BODY	feeling state
15	4.30428	*choking*	CHOKE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
16	4.04125	*bankrupt*	POVERTY	SOCIAL PHENOMENON	cause
17	4.04125	*insane*	INSANITY	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	consequence
18	4.04125	*fought*	FIGHT	CONTROL	feeling state
19	4.04125	*visible*	VISIBILITY	VISIBILITY	feeling state
20	4.04125	*venom*	ANGER	EMOTIONS	feeling state
21	4.04125	*upset*	ANGER	EMOTIONS	feeling state
22	4.04125	*taxes*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
23	4.04125	*taboo*	TABOO	INVISIBILITY	other
24	4.04125	*steal*	STEALING	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause

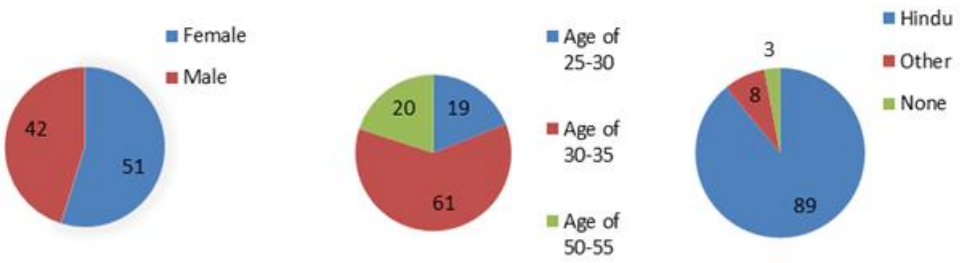
25	3.81886	*melt*	HEAT	HEAT	feeling state
26	3.71932	*defensive*	FIGHT	CONTROL	feeling state
27	3.71932	*blames*	BLAME	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
28	3.71932	*strong*	STRENGTH	CHARACTERISTICS	feeling state
29	3.71932	*accused*	ACCUSATION	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
30	3.71932	*weapons*	WEAPON	CONTROL	other
31	3.71932	*warmth*	HEAT	HEAT	feeling state
32	3.71932	*scars*	VISIBILITY, INVISIBILITY	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
33	3.62621	*painfully*	PAIN	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
34	3.62621	*guilt*	GUILT	EMOTIONS	feeling state
35	3.45629	*marrying*	MARRIAGE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
36	3.45629	*manners*	MANNERS	CONTROL	other
37	3.45629	*hurt*	PAIN	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
38	3.45629	*hides*	VISIBILITY, INVISIBILITY	INVISIBILITY	feeling state
39	3.45629	*conquer*	FIGHT	CONTROL	other
40	3.45629	*erase*	FIGHT	CONTROL	feeling state
41	3.45629	*dismay*	DISMAY	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
42	3.45629	*destruction*	DESTRUCTION	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
43	3.45629	*pride*	PRIDE	EMOTIONS	cause
44	3.45629	*addiction*	ADDICTION	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
45	3.45629	*failed*	FAILURE	FAILURE	cause
46	3.45629	*poverty*	POVERTY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
47	3.45629	*morality*	MORALITY	CONTROL	other
48	3.45629	*monsters*	MONSTER	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
49	3.45629	*embarrassment*	EMBARRASSMENT	EMOTIONS	feeling state
50	3.45629	*naked*	NAKEDNESS	BODY	feeling state
51	3.45629	*fertile*	FERTILITY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
52	3.45629	*conflict*	FIGHT	CONTROL	feeling state
53	3.45629	*sad*	SADNESS	EMOTIONS	feeling state
54	3.23389	*confidence*	CONFIDENCE	CHARACTERISTICS	other
55	3.23389	*confess*	CONFESSION	VISIBILITY	cause/consequence
56	3.23389	*parent*	PARENT	COMMUNITY	other
57	3.23389	*failures*	FAILURE	FAILURE	cause
58	3.23389	*weakness*	WEAKNESS	WEAKNESS	feeling state/cause
59	3.19325	*anguish*	PAIN	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
60	3.16678	*agony*	AGONY	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
61	3.16678	*mistake*	MISTAKE	FAILURE	cause
62	3.16678	*refused*	REFUSAL	FAILURE	cause
63	3.04125	*mad*	INSANITY	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	consequence
64	3.04125	*fat*	OBESITY	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
65	3.04125	*ungovernable*	CONTROL	CONTROL	feeling state
66	3.04125	*awe*	FEAR	EMOTIONS	feeling state
67	3.04125	*fail*	FAILURE	FAILURE	cause
68	3.04125	*drinking*	ADDICTION	SOCIOCULTURAL	cause

				PHENOMENA	
69	3.04125	*hide*	HIDE	INVISIBILITY	feeling state
70	3.04125	*combat*	FIGHT	CONTROL	feeling state
71	3.04125	*body*	BODY	BODY	feeling state
72	3.02588	*dread*	DREAD	EMOTIONS	feeling state
73	3.02588	*national*	NATION	COMMUNITY	other
74	3.02588	*defeat*	FIGHT	CONTROL	feeling state
75	3.02588	*ability*	ABILITY	CHARACTERISTICS	other
76	3.02588	*disgrace*	DISGRACE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
77	3.02588	*despair*	DESPAIR	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
78	3.02588	*friends*	FRIEND	COMMUNITY	other
79	3.02588	*afraid*	FEAR	EMOTIONS	other
80	3.02588	*army*	FIGHT	CONTROL	other
81	3.02588	*failure*	FAILURE	FAILURE	cause
82	3.02588	*morally*	MORALITY	CONTROL	other
83	3.00174	*families*	FAMILY	COMMUNITY	other
84	3.00174	*expressed*	EXPRESSION	VISIBILITY	feeling state
85	3.00174	*military*	FIGHT	CONTROL	other
86	3.00174	*married*	MARRIAGE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
87	3.00174	*trembling*	TREMBLE	BODY	feeling state
88	3.00174	*society*	SOCIETY	COMMUNITY	other
89	3.00174	*job*	OCCUPATION	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
90	3.00174	*condemn*	CONDEMNATION	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
91	3.00174	*parents*	PARENT	COMMUNITY	other
92	3.00174	*sexual*	SEXUALITY	SEXUALITY	cause
93	3.00174	*blush*	BLUSHING	BODY	feeling state
94	3.00174	*dishonor*	HONOR	HONOR	other
95	3.00029	*drugs*	ADDICTION	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
96	3.00029	*public*	PUBLIC	VISIBILITY	feeling state
97	3.00029	*black*	DARKNESS	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
98	3.00029	*old*	AGE	SOCIOCULTURAL PHENOMENA	cause
99	3.00029	*rage*	RAGE	EMOTIONS	consequence
100	3.00029	*anger*	ANGER	EMOTIONS	consequence

The survey with speakers of Indian English

1. Demographic data

The majority of the participants in the survey on the concept of *lajja* were women of the age between 30 and 35. 89% of the participants are followers of Hinduism. Participants came from the following states in India: Tamil Nadu (20), Uttar Pradesh (18), Gujarat (15), Bihar (14), Kerala (10), Punjab (9), Orissa (5), and the Union Territory of Delhi (9). *Chart 2* below gives a summary of the demographic data on the age, the gender and the religious affiliation of the participants.



2. The questions of the survey

Question 1: What is your definition of lajja?
Question 2: What are the first words that come to your mind when thinking about lajja?
Question 3: What causes lajja?
Question 4: Is lajja positive or negative?
Question 5: What other emotions and concepts are related to lajja?
Question 6: Please share an experience of yours in which you felt lajja.

Table 12: The concepts related to LAJJA *(the list of collocates of lajja)*

Nr	Stat	Collocate	Related concept	Related concept category	Related concept type
1	7.73679	virtue	VIRTUE	VALUE	other
2	7.73679	Shiva	SHIVA	TRADITION	other
3	7.73679	lies	LIE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
4	7.73679	hatred	HATRED	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
5	7.73679	fear	FEAR	EMOTION	other
6	7.73679	condemns	CONDEMN	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	consequence
7	7.73679	behaving	BEHAVIOR	BEHAVIOR	expression
8	7.73679	bashful	BASHFULNESS	EMOTION	expression
9	7.32175	possess	POSSESSION	CONTROL	other
10	7.32175	filled	FILL	BODY	expression
11	6.73679	womanhood	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
12	6.73679	veil	VEIL	INVISIBILITY	expression
13	6.73679	value	VALUE	VALUE	other
14	6.73679	use	USE	CONTROL	other
15	6.73679	ideal	IDEAL	IDEAL	other
16	6.73679	submission	SUBMISSION	CONTROL	expression
17	6.73679	social	SOCIAL	COMMUNITY	other
18	6.73679	shy	SHYNESS	EMOTION	expression
19	6.73679	shows	SHOW	VISIBILITY	expression
20	6.73679	shameless	SHAMELESS	EMOTION	other
21	6.73679	restraint	RESTRAINT	CONTROL	expression
22	6.73679	respectful	RESPECT	RESPECT	other
23	6.73679	raped	RAPE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
24	6.73679	punished	PUNISHMENT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
25	6.73679	overcome	OVERCOME	CONTROL	expression
26	6.73679	ornament	ORNAMENT	ORNAMENT	other
27	6.73679	national	NATION	COMMUNITY	other
28	6.73679	mother	MOTHER	COMMUNITY	other
29	6.73679	male	MAN	MAN	other
30	6.73679	kali	KAALI	TRADITION	other

31	6.73679	insulted	INSULT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	cause
32	6.73679	Indians	INDIAN	COMMUNITY	other
33	6.73679	ideals	IDEAL	IDEAL	other
34	6.73679	husband	HUSBAND	COMMUNITY	other
35	6.73679	Hindu	HINDUISM	TRADITION	other
36	6.73679	head	HEAD	BODY	expression
37	6.73679	governing	GOVERN	CONTROL	expression
38	6.73679	ghunghat	GHUNGHAT	TRADITION	expression
39	6.73679	frowned	FROWN	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
40	6.73679	freedom	FREEDOM	CONTROL	other
41	6.73679	females	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
42	6.73679	elder	ELDERS	COMMUNITY	other
43	6.73679	duty	DUTY	CONTROL	other
44	6.73679	disrespectful	DISRESPECT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
45	6.73679	daughter	DAUGHTER	COMMUNITY	other
46	6.73679	covering	COVER	INVISIBILITY	expression
47	6.73679	cover	COVER	INVISIBILITY	expression
48	6.73679	child	CHILD	COMMUNITY	other
49	6.73679	beauty	BEAUTY	BEAUTY	other
50	6.73679	awful	AWFULNESS	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
51	6.73679	avoid	AVOIDANCE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
52	6.73679	abuse	ABUSE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
53	6.32175	face	FACE	BODY	expression
54	6.15183	society	SOCIETY	COMMUNITY	other
55	6.15183	person	PERSON	PERSON	other
56	6.15183	modesty	MODESTY	MODESTY	other
57	6.15183	hide	HIDE	INVISIBILITY	expression
58	6.15183	clothing	CLOTHES	WOMAN	expression
59	6.15183	brother	BROTHER	COMMUNITY	other
60	6.02630	she	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
61	5.92944	body	BODY	BODY	expression
62	5.91367	women	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
63	5.73679	woman	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
64	5.73679	relatives	RELATIVES	COMMUNITY	other
65	5.73679	pride	PRIDE	EMOTION	other
66	5.73679	oppression	OPPRESSION	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
67	5.73679	negative	NEGATIVE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
68	5.73679	manner	MANNER	CONTROL	expression
69	5.73679	law	LAW	CONTROL	other
70	5.73679	jewel	JEWEL	ORNAMENT	other
71	5.73679	innocent	INNOCENCE	INNOCENCE	other
72	5.73679	injustice	INJUSTICE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
73	5.73679	improper	IMPROPERNESS	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
74	5.73679	guy	MAN	MAN	other
75	5.73679	father	FATHER	COMMUNITY	other
76	5.73679	children	CHILDREN	COMMUNITY	other
77	5.73679	blushing	BLUSH	BODY	expression
78	5.73679	personal	PERSON	PERSON	other
79	5.61480	her	WOMAN	WOMAN	other

80	5.41486	religion	RELIGION	TRADITION	other
81	5.41486	power	POWER	CONTROL	other
82	5.15183	show	SHOW	VISIBILITY	expression
83	5.15183	own	POSSESSION	CONTROL	other
84	5.15183	lady	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
85	5.15183	culture	CULTURE	COMMUNITY	other
86	4.92944	girl	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
87	4.86232	shame	SHAME	EMOTION	other
88	4.73679	wear	CLOTHES	WOMAN	other
89	4.73679	skin	SKIN	BODY	other
90	4.73679	self	SELF	PERSON	other
91	4.73679	married	MARRIAGE	SOCIAL PHENOMENON	other
92	4.46830	sharam	SHARAM	LAJJA	other
93	4.41486	religious	RELIGION	TRADITION	other
94	4.41486	clothes	CLOTHES	WOMAN	expression
95	4.15183	protect	PROTECTION	PROTECTION	other
96	4.15183	India	INDIA	COMMUNITY	other
97	3.92944	family	FAMILY	COMMUNITY	other
98	3.73679	respect	RESPECT	RESPECT	other
99	3.56687	shyness	SHYNESS	EMOTION	other
100	3.15183	marriage	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE	other

Table 13: The concepts related to LAJJA (the list of collocates of sharam)

Nr	Stat	Collocate	Related concept	Related concept category	Related concept type
1	7.70931	attitudes	ATTITUDE	BEHAVIOR	expression
2	7.44628	yours	POSSESSION	CONTROL	other
3	7.29427	ornament	ORNAMENT	ORNAMENT	other
4	7.29427	manners	MANNERS	CONTROL	expression
5	7.29427	jewel	JEWEL	ORNAMENT	other
6	7.29427	insulted	INSULT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
7	6.70931	insulting	INSULT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
8	6.70931	judging	JUDGEMENT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
9	6.70931	husbands	HUSBAND	COMMUNITY	other
10	6.70931	females	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
11	6.70931	exposed	EXPOSURE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
12	6.70931	daughters	DAUGHTER	COMMUNITY	other
13	6.70931	cultured	CULTURE	COMMUNITY	other
14	6.70931	children	CHILDREN	COMMUNITY	other
15	6.70931	awful	AWFULNESS	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	feeling state
16	6.58378	elders	ELDERS	COMMUNITY	other
17	6.55731	honour	HONOR	HONOR	other
18	6.44628	person	PERSON	PERSON	other
19	6.44628	lady	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
20	6.29427	wife	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
21	6.29427	value	VALUE	VALUE	other
22	6.29427	suicide	SUICIDE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
23	6.29427	shamelessly	SHAMELESSNESS	EMOTION	other

24	6.29427	oppression	OPPRESSION	NEGATIVE CONCEPT	other
25	6.29427	negative	NEGATIVE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
26	6.29427	manner	MANNERS	CONTROL	expression
27	6.29427	innocent	INNOCENCE	INNOCENCE	other
28	6.29427	injustice	INJUSTICE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
29	6.29427	accept	ACCEPTANCE	CONTROL	other
30	6.17880	people	PEOPLE	COMMUNITY	other
31	6.12435	public	PUBLIC	COMMUNITY	other
32	6.12435	man	MAN	MAN	other
33	6.03124	maintain	MAINTENANCE	CONTROL	other
34	6.03124	behave	BEHAVIOR	BEHAVIOR	other
35	5.93170	India	INDIA	COMMUNITY	other
36	5.89374	shame	SHAME	EMOTION	other
37	5.87924	respect	RESPECT	RESPECT	other
38	5.70931	values	VALUES	VALUE	other
39	5.70931	use	USAGE	CONTROL	other
40	5.70931	upbringing	UPBRINGING	COMMUNITY	other
41	5.70931	submission	SUBMISSION	CONTROL	other
42	5.70931	society	SOCIETY	COMMUNITY	other
43	5.70931	social	SOCIETY	COMMUNITY	other
44	5.70931	shameful	SHAME	EMOTION	other
45	5.70931	relatives	RELATIVES	COMMUNITY	other
46	5.70931	punished	PUNISHMENT	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
47	5.70931	parents	PARENTS	COMMUNITY	other
48	5.70931	marrying	MARRIAGE	SOCIAL PHENOMENON	other
49	5.70931	loklaaj	LAJJA	LAJJA	other
50	5.70931	layja	LAJJA	LAJJA	other
51	5.70931	hate	HATE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
52	5.70931	ideals	IDEAL	IDEAL	other
53	5.70931	human	HUMAN	PERSON	other
54	5.70931	hatred	HATE	NEGATIVE CONCEPTS	other
55	5.70931	guy	MAN	MAN	other
56	5.70931	grace	GRACE	GRACE	other
57	5.70931	girls	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
58	5.70931	filled	FILL	BODY	other
59	5.70931	fear	FEAR	EMOTION	other
60	5.70931	family	FAMILY	COMMUNITY	other
61	5.70931	dress	DRESS	WOMAN	other
62	5.70931	dignity	DIGNITY	DIGNITY	other
63	5.70931	culture	CULTURE	COMMUNITY	other
64	5.70931	compassion	COMPASSION	COMPASSION	other
65	5.70931	beautiful	BEAUTY	BEAUTY	other
66	5.70931	bashful	BASHFULNESS	EMOTION	other
67	5.70931	allowed	ALLOWANCE	CONTROL	other
68	5.70931	personal	PERSON	PERSON	other
69	5.58378	marriages	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE	other
70	5.48692	girl	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
71	5.48692	body	BODY	BODY	other
72	5.44628	feeling	FEELING	EMOTION	other

73	5.44628	red	REDNESS	BODY	expression
74	5.29427	married	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE	other
75	5.29427	skin	SKIN	BODY	other
76	5.29427	self	SELF	PERSON	other
77	5.12435	woman	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
78	5.12435	shyness	SHYNESS	EMOTION	other
79	5.12435	show	SHOW	VISIBILITY	expression
80	5.12435	modesty	MODESTY	MODESTY	other
81	5.12435	brother	BROTHER	COMMUNITY	other
82	5.09264	women	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
83	4.97235	religious	RELIGION	TRADITION	other
84	4.97235	religion	RELIGION	TRADITION	other
85	4.70931	shown	SHOW	VISIBILITY	expression
86	4.70931	senior	SENIOR	COMMUNITY	other
87	4.70931	pride	PRIDE	EMOTION	emotion
88	4.70931	moral	MORALITY	CONTROL	other
89	4.70931	marriage	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE	other
90	4.70931	demure	DEMURENESS	EMOTION	other
91	4.70931	breast	BREAST	BODY	other
92	4.66978	her	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
93	4.53939	she	WOMAN	WOMAN	other
94	4.46830	lajja	LAJJA	LAJJA	other
95	4.38738	power	POWER	CONTROL	other
96	4.12435	relative	RELATIVES	COMMUNITY	other
97	4.12435	ashamed	SHAME	EMOTION	other
98	3.70931	weight	WEIGHT	CONTROL	other
99	3.70931	father	PARENT	COMMUNITY	other
100	3.70931	besharam	SHARAM	LAJJA	other

Table 14: The conceptual metaphors of LAJJA

Conceptual Metaphors	**Types of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression type frequency (%)**	**Tokens of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression token frequency (%)**	**Types of metaphorical mappings (#)**	**Metaphorical mapping type frequency (%)**	**The salience of conceptual metaphors (%)**
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the existence of the emotion							
LAJJA IS A POSSESSED OBJECT	7	18.91	21	19.09	4	10.81	**49.62**
	· lajja is X's (4) · sharam is X's (3) · X have lajja (5) · X is without shame (loklaaj) (2) · X keeps sharam (*sharam rakho*) (1) · live with sharam (5) · have much sharam (1)				· The person possessing the object → the person with lajja · Keeping the object → keeping lajja · The length of possessing the object → the length of possessing lajja · The amount of the object → the amount of lajja		
BEING IN LAJJA IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE	2	5.4	3	2.72	1	2.7	**10.82**
	· X is in sharam (1) · X is in lajja (2)				· X in a bounded space → X in shame		
LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER	3	8.1	12	10.9	3	8.1	**27.1**
	· *sharam karo* (shame on X) (1) · sharam on X (7) · lajja on X (4)				· X → container · emotion →substance · substance on the container → emotion on X		
LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER	4	10.81	7	6.36	5	13.51	**30.68**

	· X is filled with sharam (1) · X is filled with lajja (3) · lajja is within X (2) · sharam in X (2)				· X → container · emotion → substance · the substance inside the container → the emotion in X · the substance not inside the container → the emotion not in X · the container is filled with the substance → the person is filled with the emotion		
Conceptual metaphors with a focus on control scenarios							
LAJJA IS AN OPPONENT	1	2.7	4	3.63	3	8.1	**14.43**
	· X is overcome with lajja (4)				· Opponent 1 → X/the activity X does/the thoughts X has/the state X is in · Opponent 2 → the emotion · Opponent 2 gains control over opponent 1→ the emotion gains control over X		
LAJJA IS A FORCE	3	8.1	10	9.09	5	13.51	**30.7**
	· sharam persuades X (1) · lajja makes X do sg (5) · lajja does not allow X to do sg (4)				· force → shame · object → X · what the force does to the object (exerts control) → what the emotion does to X (exerts control)		
LAJJA IS A TOOL	3	8.1	3	2.72	2	5.4	**16.22**
	· the use of lajja (1) · sharam gives reassurance to sg (1) · sharam is drilled about (1)				· the tool → the emotion · the purpose the tool is used for → the purpose the emotion is used for		

Conceptual metaphors that highlight the evaluation of the emotion							
LAJJA IS A BURDEN	2	5.04	2	1.81	3	8.1	**14.95**
	· X crushes under the weight of sharam (1) · the weight of lajja (1)				· the burden → the emotion · the weight of the burden → the weight of the emotion · the person crushing under the weight of the burden → the person crushing under the weight of the emotion		
LAJJA IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT	6	16.21	37	33.63	5	13.51	**65.15**
	· X has sharam (7) · besharam (X has no shame) (1) · X has lajja (12) · X should have lajja (15) · sharam is a must to have (1) · X has to learn to have lajja (1)				· the object → the emotion · the person possessing the object → the person having the emotion (positive) · the person has to possess the object → the person has to possess the emotion · the person has to learn to possess the object → the person has to learn to possess the emotion · the person not possessing the object → the person not having emotion (negative)		
LAJJA IS A JEWEL	3	8.1	4	3.63	3	8.1	**19.83**
	· sharam is an ornament of X (1) · sharam is a jewel of X (2) · lajja is human decoration (1)				· The jewel → the emotion · The woman/person possessing the jewel → the woman/person possessing the emotion · The woman/person decorated with the jewel → the woman/person decorated with the emotion		

Conceptual metaphors that highlight the visibility/invisibility of the emotion							
LAJJA IS A SUBSTANCE TO SHOW	3	8.1	7	6.36	3	8.1	**22.56**
	· X must show sharam (4) · lajja must be shown (1) · X shows lajja (2)				· the substance → the emotion · the substance shown to others → the emotion visible to others · the substance must be shown to others → the emotion has to be visible to others		
TOTAL	**37**		**110**		**37**		

Table 15: The conceptual metonymies of LAJJA

Conceptual Metonymies	Types of linguistic expressions (#)	Linguistic expression type frequency (%)	Tokens of linguistic expressions (#)	Linguistic expression token frequency (%)	Types of metonymical mappings (#)	Metonymical mapping type frequency (%)	The salience of conceptual metonymies (%)
PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
BLUSHING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA	2	18.18	3	8.82	1	12.5	**39.5**
	· cheeks go from pink to red (1) · go red with sharam (2)				· blushing → (the possession of) the emotion		
BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
APPROPRIATE BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA							
RESPECT FOR THE ELDERS STANDS FOR (THE	1	9.09	3	8.82	1	12.5	**30.41**

POSSESSION) OF LAJJA							
	· having respect for the elders (3)				· appropriate behavior → (the possession of) the emotion		
COVERING THE BODY STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA	2	18.18	10	29.41	1	12.5	**60.09**
	· Ghoongat (veil) covers the face/the body (4) · hide face in lajja (6)				· appropriate clothing → (the possession of) the emotion		
LACK OF TALKING STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA	2	18.18	4	11.76	1	12.5	**42.44**
	· stay silent (3) · not talk too much (1)				· appropriate behavior → possession of) the emotion		
NOT WEARING PARTICULAR CLOTHES STANDS FOR (THE POSSESSION OF) LAJJA	1	9.09	1	2,94	1	12.5	**24.53**
	· X is not comfortable wearing particular types of clothes in front of Y (1)				· appropriate clothing → (the possession of) the emotion		
INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA							
DOING ROMANCE IN FRONT OF A SENIOR OR RELATIVE STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA	1	9.09	1	2.94	1	12.5	**24.53**
	· doing romance in front of a senior or relative (1)				· inappropriate behavior → (not possessing) the		

					emotion		
BEING MARRIED TO ANOTHER CASTE OR RELIGION STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA	1	9.09	8	23.53	1	12.5	**45.12**
	· being married to another caste/religion (8)				· inappropriate behavior → (not possessing) the emotion		
WOMEN TALKING TO MALE NON-RELATIVES STANDS FOR (NOT POSSESSING) LAJJA	1	9.09	4	11.76	1	12.5	**33.35**
	· X speaks to Y (4)				· inappropriate behavior → (not possessing) the emotion		
TOTAL	**11**		**34**		**8**		

Table 16: The conceptual metaphors of SHAME in the Indian English database

Conceptual Metaphors	**Types of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression type frequency (%)**	**Tokens of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression token frequency (%)**	**Types of metaphorical mappings (#)**	**Metaphorical mapping type frequency (%)**	**The salience of conceptual metaphors (%)**
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the existence of the emotion							
SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT	6	3.61	530	14.35	6	5.3	**23.26**
	· shame of X (138) · X's shame (332) · share shame (35) · lose shame (16) · devoid of shame (3) · X's lasting/eternal shame				· the object → the emotion · X possessing the object → X with the emotion · X not possessing the object → X without the emotion · loss of the possessed object → the loss of the emotion		

	(6)				· sharing the object → sharing the emotion · the length of possessing the object → the length of the emotion		
SHAME IS A LIVING ORGANISM	4	2.4	32	0.87	3	2.65	**5.92**
	· shame visits X (7) · shame comes (18) · lay shame somewhere (2) · undying shame (5)				· the living organism → the emotion · the living organism's actions → the things the emotion does · the characteristics of the living organism → the characteristics of the emotion (length of the emotion)		
BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE	5	3.01	370	10.02	3	2.65	**15.68**
	· Y puts X to shame (256) · Y leaves X in shame (10) · life in shame (53) · be in shame (27) · live in shame (24)				· being in a bounded space → being in shame · Y putting X into a bounded space → Y putting X to shame · the length of being in the bounded space → the length of living in shame		
SHAME IS A LIQUID	6	3.61	20	0.54	4	3.54	**7.69**
	· drown in shame (11) · steep in shame (1) · instill shame (1) · wallow in shame (1) · deep ditch of shame (1) · deep shame (5)				· the substance (fluid) → the emotion · the object → X (the person/an entity (e.g. a country)) · the object in the substance		

					(fluid) → X in shame · the depth of the substance (fluid) → the intensity of the emotion		
SHAME IS A GAS	1	0.6	3	0.08	2	1.77	**2.45**
	· to blow away shame (3)				· the substance (gas) → the emotion · X's actions with the substance → X's actions with the emotion		
SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE	7	4.21	157	4.25	2	1.77	**10.23**
	· mixture of emotion1 and emotion2 (15) · mix of emotion1 and emotion2 (21) · a combination of emotion1 and emotion2 (17) · a mixed sense of emotion1 and emotion2 (22) · a mixed feeling of emotion1 and emotion2 (29) · the soul shuttling between emotion1 and emotion2 (1) · X has emotion1 and emotion2 (52)				· substance → emotion · mixed substance → a combination of shame with other emotions		
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER	4	2.4	378	10.24	5	4.42	**17.06**
	· shame on X (367) · heap shame on X (9) · hurl shame on X (1)				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X		

	· X shrugs off shame (1)				· the substance on/upon/over the container → the emotion on/upon/over X · the amount of substance on the container → the amount of shame on X · the substance removed from the surface of the container → the emotion removed from X		
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER	5	3.01	310	8.39	4	3.54	**14.94**
	· Y brings shame on X (259) · Y brings shame to X (27) · Y brings shame upon X (5) · Y brings much shame on X (6) · Y casts shame on X (13)				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X · Y brings substance on/to/upon the container → Y brings the emotion on/to/upon X · the amount of substance brought on the container → the amount of shame brought on X		
Conceptual metaphors with focus on control							
SHAME IS A FORCE	4	2.4	57	1.54	3	2.65	**6.59**
	· X is driven by shame (17) · shame leads to something (16) · shame shapes X (3) · shame has an impact on X (21)				· the force → the emotion · the object → the self (X) · what the force does to the object → what the emotion does to the self		
SHAME IS A	17	10.24	244	6.6	10	8.85	**25.69**

SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER							
	· X is filled with shame (57) · X is full of shame (81) · X has shame inside (14) · internalize shame (2) · in the heart ashamed (1) · eyes devoid of shame (6) · X swallows shame (5) · arouse shame in X (8) · reduce shame in X (11) · repress shame in X (14) · kick out shame of X (3) · shame lives in X (3) · shame leaves X (12) · shame assails the mind of X (1) · X's eyes filled with shame (6) · shame rankles in the minds (1) · much shame inside X (19)				· the container → X · the substance in the container → the emotion in X · the quantity of the substance → the intensity of the emotion · the quantity of the substance increasing in the container → the intensity of the emotion increasing in X · making the substance leave the container → making the emotion go away from X · attempt to keep the substance inside the container → attempt to keep the emotion unexpressed · attempt to reduce the substance in the container → attempt of X to repress the emotion · the substance trying to control the container → shame trying to control X · the substance not being in the container → the emotion not being in X · the length the substance stays in the container → the length the emotion is in X		
SHAME IS AN OPPONENT	16	9.63	79	2.14	8	7.07	**18.84**
	· defeat shame (3)				· opponent 1 → the emotion		

	· overcome shame (6) · eliminate shame (2) · overcome by shame (2) · shame assails (1) · shame destroys (1) · shame wins over (1) · surrender in shame (4) · shame kills (9) · face shame (14) · Y protects X from shame (6) · Y saves X the shame (5) · the power of shame (11) · the strength of shame (2) · battle shame (2) · fight shame (10)				· opponent 2 →the self (X) · opponent 1 trying to gain control over opponent 2 → the emotion trying to gain control over X · opponent 2 trying to gain control over opponent 1 → X trying to gain control over the emotion · opponent 1 winning over opponent 2 → the emotion winning over X · opponent 2 winning over opponent 1 → X winning over the emotion · the features of opponent 1 → the features (strength/power) of shame · opponent 2 saved from opponent 1 → X saved from shame		
SHAME IS A HIDDEN ENEMY	1	0.6	1	0.03	2	1.77	**2.4**
	· dope shame returned to haunt (1)				· the hidden enemy → the emotion · the hidden enemy's actions → the things shame does		
SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE	6	3.61	42	1.14	4	3.54	**8.29**
	· shame floods X's mind (11) · shame sweeps over X (9) · shame washes over X (19) · surge of shame (1) · tsunami of shame washes				· the physical object → self (X) · the natural force → the emotion · the natural force aims to change the physical object		

	over X(1) · struck by shame (1)				→ the emotion aims to change X · the physical object undergoes effect in a passive way → X responds to the emotion in a passive way		
SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	5	3.01	64	1.73	4	3.54	**8.28**
	· consigned to shame (8) · shame is a social check on public conduct (1) · shame rules (32) · shame governs (19) · control X through shame (4)				· the social superior → the emotion · the social inferior → X · the actions of the social superior with the social inferior → what the emotion does with X · the control of the social superior over the social inferior → the control of the emotion over		
SHAME IS A WILD ANIMAL	1	0.6	1	0.03	2	1.77	**2.4**
	· eaten up by shame (1)				· the wild animal → the emotion · the wild animal's actions with X → what the emotion does to X		
SHAME IS A TOOL	5	3.01	38	1.03	3	2.65	**6.69**
	· use shame as a double-edged sword (1) · X punishes Y with shame (13) · to shame by doing something (2) · use shame (20)				· the tool → the emotion · the characteristics of the tool → the characteristics of the emotion · the tool used for a particular purpose → the emotion used for a particular purpose		

	· shame is a silencing device (2)						
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the evaluation of the emotion							
SHAME IS A DISEASE	8	4.82	74	2	5	4.42	**11.24**
	· afflicted with shame (2) · diseases of shame (26) · pangs of shame (1) · recover from shame (8) · symptoms of shame (4) · suffer shame (23) · endure shame (6) · heal shame (4)				· the disease → the emotion · the disease causing pain in the body → the emotion causing pain in X · the body recovering from the disease → X relieved from emotion · the symptoms of the disease → the signs of the presence of the emotion · the body infected by the disease → the body infected by shame		
SHAME IS A BURDEN	13	7.83	98	2.65	4	3.54	**14.02**
	· baggage of shame (9) · bear shame (19) · heavy shame (18) · heavy with shame (8) · burden of shame (12) · carry shame (19) · collapse under the weight of shame (1) · ease shame (1) · relief from shame (7) · shame lifts (1) · unbearable weight of shame (1) · bear the brunt of shame (1)				· the burden → the emotion · the body carrying the burden →X carrying the emotion · the body relieved from the burden → X relieved from the emotion · the weight of the burden on the body → the intensity of the emotion		

	· unbearable burden of shame (1)						
SHAME IS A PRISON	6	3.61	94	2.57	7	6.19	**12.37**
	· stuck in shame (27) · free from (21) · break free from shame (4) · escape shame (27) · rescue from shame (13) · release from shame (2)				· the prison → the emotion · being in prison → being in shame · being free from prison → being free from the emotion · escaping the prison → escaping the emotion · being rescued from the prison → being rescued from the emotion · breaking free from prison → breaking free from the emotion · released from the prison → relieved of shame		
SHAME IS A SHARP OBJECT	1	0.6	2	0.05	2	1.77	**2.42**
	· stinging shame (2)				· the sharp object → the emotion · the pain caused by the sharp object → the pain caused by the emotion		
SHAME IS AN UNDESIRABLE OBJECT	5	3.01	83	2.25	2	1.77	**7.03**
	· X handles shame (32) · X copes with shame (21) · X struggles with shame (17) · X inherits shame (3) · X deals with shame (10)				· the undesirable object → the emotion · X's actions with the undesirable object → what X does with emotion		

SHAME IS DARK	3	1.8	22	0.59	3	2.65	**5.04**
	· the shadow of shame (13) · dark vaults of shame (1) · blacken face with shame (8)				· the substance → the emotion · the characteristics of the substance (dark) → the characteristics of the emotion (dark) · blacken the face of X (with shame) → shame X		
SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE	2	1.2	29	0.78	4	3.54	**5.52**
	· shame attached to X (18) · with no shame attached (11)				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X · the substance attached to the container → the emotion attached to X · the substance not attached to the container → the emotion not attached to X		
SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT	2	1.2	394	10.67	3	2.65	**14.52**
	· X has no shame (178) · X has shame (216)				· the desirable object → the emotion · X does not have the desirable object → X does not have shame (negative) · X has the desirable object → X has the emotion (positive)		
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the visibility/invisibility of the emotion							
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE	4	2.4	66	1.79	3	2.65	**6.84**

	· hide (X's) shame (33) · invisible shame (5) · secret shame (12) · cover shame (16)				· the substance → the shame · X covering the substance → X hiding shame · the characteristics of the substance → the characteristics of shame		
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER	7	4.2	200	5.42	3	2.65	**12.27**
	· X is covered in shame (95) · cover with shame (89) · shame blankets X (2) · shroud in shame (1) · shame envelops X (1) · wrap X in shame (6) · veil of shame (6)				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X · the substance covering the container → the emotion covering X		
SHAME IS EXPOSURE	9	5.4	140	3.79	3	2.65	**11.84**
	X's shame intentionally made visible by Y · name and shame (45) · puppy shame (3) · mark X with shame (16) · Y stigmatizes X (4) · Y puts X on the wall of shame (2) · public shaming (49) *Neutral* · mark of shame (6) · badge of shame (11) · naked with shame (4)				· being exposed to others/the public → being in shame/shamed · methods of Y making X exposed to others/the public → methods of Y shaming X · the signs of being exposed to others/the public → the signs of being in shame/shamed		
SHAME IS DIRT	6	3.61	94	2.57	4	3.54	**9.72**
	· wash the shame (32)				· the dirt → the emotion		

	· wash away shame (14) · cleanse shame (13) · stained by shame (14) · stain of shame (12) · dirty shame (9)				· cleaning the dirt → cleaning X from the emotion · the signs of the dirt → the signs of the emotion · washing away the dirt → washing away shame		
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the intensity of the emotion							
SHAME IS HEAT (FIRE AND LIGHT)	7	4.21	70	1.89	5	4.42	**10.52**
	· shame burns X (FIRE) (22) · face burns with shame (FIRE) (16) · burn shame upon X (FIRE) (3) · flames of shame (FIRE) (3) · glow of shame (LIGHT) (11) · shame glaring (LIGHT) (8) · shame glares (LIGHT) (7)				· the fire → the emotion · the intensity of the fire → the intensity of the emotion · the actions of the fire → what the emotion does · the light → the emotion · the light glaring → the emotion of the person visible to others		
TOTAL	**166**		**3692**		**113**		

Table 17: The conceptual metaphors of SHAME in the American English database

Conceptual Metaphors	**Types of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression type frequency (%)**	**Tokens of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression token frequency (%)**	**Types of metaphorical mappings (#)**	**Metaphorical mapping type frequency (%)**	**The salience of conceptual metaphors (%)**
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the existence of the emotion							
SHAME IS A POSSESSED OBJECT	5	1.82	583	16	5	3.82	**21.64**
	· X's shame (431) · shame of X (95) · live with shame (21)				· the object → the emotion · X (the person/an entity (e.g. a generation)) possessing the		

	· lose X's shame (20) · keep shame (16)				object → the person with shame · the loss of the possessed object → the loss of shame · keeping the object → keeping the shame · the length of possessing the object → the length of possessing the emotion		
SHAME IS A LIVING ORGANISM	10	3.69	19	0.52	2	1.53	**5.74**
	· shame is borne (1) · shame goes with X (3) · shame returns (3) · shame stays (3) · shame breeds (1) · shame lies (1) · shame tells lies (1) · shame is cultivated (1) · shame says (2) · shame grows (3)				· the living organism → the emotion · the actions of the living organism → what the emotion does		
BEING IN SHAME IS BEING IN A BOUNDED SPACE	9	3.28	302	8.29	5	3.82	**15.39**
	· Y puts X to shame (214) · rise out of shame (13) · live in shame (20) · stand in shame (15) · fall into shame (19) · get lost in shame (15) · disappear into shame (3) · cast into eternal shame (1) · retreat into shame (2)				· being in a bounded space → being in shame · getting into a bounded space → getting into shame · getting out of a bounded space → getting out of shame · Y putting X into a bounded space → Y putting X to shame · the length of being in a bounded space → the length of being in shame		

SHAME IS A LIQUID	11	4.01	25	0.69	4	3.05	**7.75**
	· X sinks with shame (2) · bath in shame (2) · the ocean of shame (2) · shame evaporates (1) · mire in shame (2) · sink into the quagmire of shame (2) · swim in shame deep (6) · soak in shame (3) · drenched with shame (2) · drip with shame (1) · splash of shame (2)				· the substance (fluid) → the emotion · the object → X (the person/an entity (e.g. presidency)) · the object in the substance (fluid) → the person in shame · the depth of the substance (fluid) → the intensity of the emotion		
SHAME IS A GAS	1	0.36	2	1.53	2	0.05	**1.94**
	· breathe shame (2)				· the substance (gas) → the emotion · X's actions with the substance → X's actions with the emotion		
SHAME IS A MIXED SUBSTANCE	8	2.92	144	3.95	2	1.53	**8.4**
	· emotion1 turns to emotion2 (19) · emotion1 mixed with emotion2 (16) · complex mixture of emotion1 and emotion2 (14) · comingled emotion1 and emotion2 (5) · emotion 1 tinged with emotion2 (2) · emotion1 mutates into emotion2 (2) · shame taints other feelings (3)				· substance → emotion/concept · mixed substance → a combination of emotions/concepts		

	· X has emotion1 and emotion2 (83)						
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE ON THE CONTAINER	6	2.19	312	8.56	5	3.82	**14.57**
	· shame on X (251) · heap shame on X (8) · shame on X's head (39) · shake off the shame (3) · the amount of shame on X (4) · take shame off X (7)				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X (the body/head/heart/an entity (e.g. campaign)) · the substance on the container → shame on X · the amount of substance on the container → the amount of shame on X · removing the substance from the surface of the container → X getting rid of the emotion		
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE BROUGHT ONTO THE CONTAINER	6	2.19	169	4.64	4	3.05	**9.88**
	· shame is placed upon X by Y (9) · Y brings shame upon X (126) · Y brings shame to X (21) · Y brings shame for X (2) · cast shame on X (5) · much shame placed on				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X (the body/an entity (e.g. country)) · Y brings substance upon the container → Y brings shame upon X · the amount of substance brought on the container → the amount of shame brought on X		
Conceptual metaphors with a focus on control scenarios							
SHAME IS A FORCE	7	2.55	72	1.98	3	2.29	**6.82**
	· shame makes X do something (23)				· force → shame · object → self (X)		

	· X driven by shame (27) · shame leads to something (16) · wither in shame (1) · wilt in shame (1) · shame is a driving force (3) · shape by the forces of shame (1)				· what the force does to the object (control) → what the emotion does to the self (control)		
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE IN THE CONTAINER	29	10.58	325	8.92	13	9.92	**29.42**
	· X is filled with shame (21) · internalization of shame (2) · shame fills X's eyes (16) · shame is inside the chest (2) · shame in the eyes (15) · overflow with shame (7) · heart pounded with shame (1) · bottomless shame (1) · full of shame (105) · the rise of shame in X (17) · shame grows in X's guts (2) · throat clogged with shame (3) · shame rises in X (25) · shame emerges in X (4) · hot well of shame bubbles inside X (1) · shame burns through X (6) · hot shame rushing up and down X's body (1) · shame runs hot in X's veins				· the container → X (body/stomach/eyes/guts/chest/veins/heart of the person) · the substance (fluid) in the container → the emotion · the inability to control the substance → the inability to control the emotion · the degree of the heat of the substance → the intensity of the emotion · the substance going out of the container → lack of control over the emotion by X · attempting to keep the substance inside → attempting to control the emotional response · attempt to reduce the substance in the container → attempt to reduce shame in X · removing the substance from the container → X getting rid of the emotion		

	(1) · shame spills over (4) · low level of shame in X (4) · shame diminishes (11) · swallow shame (6) · remove shame (14) · repress shame (17) · contain shame (15) · speck of shame in X (1) · heat of shame increases in X (19) · expunge shame (1) · shame burrows in the stomach (1)				· the level of the substance going up in the container → the intensity of the emotion increasing in X · the level of the substance going down in the container → the intensity of the emotion decreasing in X · the quantity in the container → the intensity of the emotion · the substance clogging the container → the emotion clogging X · the actions of the hot substance → the actions of the emotions in X		
SHAME IS AN OPPONENT	23	8.39	187	5.13	9	6.87	**20.39**
	· conquer shame (7) · defeat shame (8) · defend against shame (5) · X armed against shame (2) · be safe from shame (12) · shield against shame (2) · shame recedes (9) · overcome by shame (34) · gripped by shame (1) · seized with shame (5) · X surrenders to shame (3) · shame destroys (23) · shame kills (10) · strive with shame (3) · victims of shame (8) · shame chokes X (1)				· opponent 1 → the emotion · opponent 2 → self (X) · opponent 1 trying to gain control over opponent 2 → the emotion trying to gain control over self (X) · opponent 2 trying to gain control over opponent 1 → self (X) trying to gain control over the emotion · opponent 1 winning over opponent 2 → the emotion winning over self (X) · opponent 2 winning over opponent 1 → self (X) winning over the emotion · opponent 2 saved from		

	· battle shame (6) · face shame (22) · fight against shame (13) · fight back shame (6) · wrestle with shame (1) · Y saves X the shame (2) · the power of shame (4)				opponent 1 → X saved from the emotion · the features of opponent1→ the features (power) of shame · opponent 2 being safe from opponent1 → X being safe from the emotion		
SHAME IS A HIDDEN ENEMY	5	1.82	16	0.44	3	2.29	**4.56**
	· shame creeps up on X (3) · shame creeps up X's face (4) · creeping shame (5) · shame creeps into the mind (2) · sneaking shame (2)				· the hidden enemy → the emotion · the hidden enemy's actions → the things shame does · the characteristics of the hidden enemy → the characteristics of the emotion		
SHAME IS A NATURAL FORCE	16	5.84	76	2.09	4	3.05	**10.98**
	· wash of shame (12) · X is awash in shame (1) · shame drowns X (5) · engulfed in shame (3) · flood of shame (4) · flood with shame (6) · quell shame (3) · shame engulfs (5) · shame washes over X (14) · shame swells in X (5) · shame strikes (6) · stricken with shame (3) · wave of shame sweeps over X (1) · welling of shame (3)				· physical object → self (X) · natural force → the emotion · the natural force aims changing the physical object → the emotion aims to change the self (X) · physical object undergoes effect in a passive way → self (X) responds to the emotion in a passive way		

	· shame surges (1) · shame swamps X (4)						
SHAME IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	3	1.09	18	0.49	4	3.05	**4.63**
	· shame rules (11) · shame governs (4) · shame dictates (3)				· the social superior → the emotion · the social inferior → the self (X) · the actions of the social superior with the social inferior → what the emotion does with the self (X) · the control of the social superior over the social inferior → the control of the emotion over the self		
SHAME IS A WILD ANIMAL	5	1.82	5	0.14	2	1.53	**3.49**
	· unleash shame (1) · shame claws free from X (1) · shame eating X up (1) · bewildered with shame (1) · devoured by shame (1)				· the wild animal → the emotion · the actions of the wild animal on X → what the emotion does with X		
SHAME IS A TOOL	3	1.09	23	0.63	2	1.53	**3.25**
	· X punishes Y with shame (9) · torment with shame (2) · use shame (12)				· the tool → the emotion · the purpose the tool is used for → the purpose the emotion is used for		
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the evaluation of the emotion							
SHAME IS A DISEASE	15	5.47	95	2.6	7	5.34	**13.41**
	· ache with shame (5) · paroxysm of shame (2) · plagued with a deep shame				· the disease → the emotion · the disease causing pain in X's body (the whole body/the		

	(2) · groan in shame (6) · heal one's shame (11) · shame hurts (31) · twinge of shame (1) · suffer shame (16) · inflict shame on X (2) · pang of shame (1) · recover from shame (9) · throes of shame (2) · writhe in shame (1) · painful shame (5) · (empathy is) the antidote of shame (1)				stomach/the heart) → the emotion causing pain in X's self · X's body recovering from the disease → X's self is relieved from the emotion · the symptoms of the disease → the signs of the presence of the emotion · the antidote of the disease → the antidote of shame · the body inflected by the disease → X inflected by the emotion · the characteristics of the disease → the characteristics of the		
SHAME IS A BURDEN	17	6.2	131	3.59	6	4.58	**14.37**
	· carry shame (19) · bear shame (22) · shame weighs down (6) · be unburdened by shame (3) · shame weighs (11) · shame is the 600 pound gorilla sitting on X (1) · crumble from the weight of shame (1) · unrelieved shame (6) · heart heavy of shame (8) · unbearable shame (6) · neck and back bends under a thousand years of shame (1)				· the burden → the emotion · the body carrying the burden → X carrying the emotion · the weight of the burden → the intensity of the emotion · the body crushing under the weight of the burden→ X crushed by the emotion · the body relieved from the burden → X relieved from the emotion · the length the body holds the burden → the length the emotion affects X (lingering)		

	· burdened by the lingering shame (1) · alleviate shame (7) · relief from shame (13) · get rid of shame (14) · shame lifts (8) · shame descends on X (4)						
SHAME IS A PRISON	6	2.19	24	0.66	5	3.82	**6.67**
	· trap in shame (8) · rescued from shame (4) · escape shame (7) · release from shame (2) · liberation from shame (2) · shame holds X hostage (1)				· the prison → the emotion · X in prison → X in shame · X escaping the prison → X escaping the shame · X being rescued from the prison → X being rescued from the shame · X released from the prison → X released from shame		
SHAME IS A SHARP OBJECT	7	2.55	10	0.27	3	2.29	**5.11**
	· sharp shame (2) · stab of shame (2) · shame pricks the eyes (1) · shame hollows one's heart (1) · sharp nettles of shame (plant) (1) · sting of shame (2) · stung by shame (1)				· the sharp object → the emotion · the characteristics of the object (sharp) → the characteristics of the emotion (sharp) · what the sharp object does with X → what the emotion does with X		
SHAME IS AN UNDESIRABLE OBJECT	7	(2.55	297	8.15	2	1.53	**12.23**
	· abandon shame (46) · avoid shame (37) · cope with shame (56)				· the undesirable object → the shame · X's actions with the		

	· deal with shame (85) · remedy shame (6) · manage shame (44) · struggle with shame (23)				undesirable object → what X does with shame		
SHAME IS DARK	5	1.82	22	0.6	2	1.53	**3.95**
	· shadows of shame (1) · dark cloud of shame (1) · blackness of shame (17) · dark shame (2) · black fog of shame (1)				· the substance → the emotion · the characteristics of the substance (dark) → the characteristics of the emotion (dark)		
SHAME IS A STICKY SUBSTANCE	3	1.09	11	0.3	4	3.05	**4.44**
	· shame attached to X (8) · shame sticks to X (2) · clinging shame (1)				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X (the person/an entity (e.g. mental illness)) · the substance attached to the container → the emotion attached to X · the characteristics of the substance → the characteristics of the emotion		
SHAME IS A POISON	2	0.73	5	0.14	3	2.29	**3.16**
	· toxic shame (3) · poisoned with shame (2)				· the poison → the emotion · the person poisoned → the person in shame · the characteristics of the poison → the characteristics of the emotion		
SHAME IS AN OBSTACLE	5	1.82	17	0.47	4	3.05	**4.92**
	· shame impedes (5) · shame hampers (3) · X busts through the shame wall (1)				· the obstacle → the emotion · the obstacle impeding the person → the emotion impeding the person from		

	· X is over shame (4) · X gets over shame (4)				doing things · the person leaves the obstacle behind → the person overcomes the emotion · X breaks through the obstacle → X breaks through shame		
SHAME IS A MONSTER	4	1.46	5	0.14	2	1.53	**3.13**
	· shame is a gremlin (1) · shame is a hobgoblin (1) · monsters of shame (2) · miasmic shame (1)				· the monster → the emotion · the characteristics of the monster → the characteristics of the emotion		
SHAME IS A DESIRABLE OBJECT	3	1.09	169	4.64	3	2.29	**8.02**
	· have no shame (101) · have shame (32) · without (any) shame (36)				· the object → the emotion · the person possessing the object → the person having the shame (positive) · - the person not possessing the object → the person not having shame (negative)		
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the visibility/invisibility of the emotion							
SHAME IS A SUBSTANCE TO HIDE	7	2.55	152	4.17	3	2.29	**9.01**
	· hide shame (121) · secret shame (14) · cover up shame (9) · conceal shame (1) · mask shame (5) · invisible shame (1) · low-visibility shame (1)				· the substance → the emotion · X covering the substance → X hiding the emotion · the characteristics of the substance → the characteristics of the emotion		
SHAME IS A	7	2.55	136	3.73	3	2.29	**8.57**

SUBSTANCE THAT COVERS THE CONTAINER							
	· cover X in shame (128) · shrouded in shame (1) · shame wraps around the heart (1) · encased in shame (1) · shame enfolds (3) · shame covers like a coat (1) · shame envelopes (1)				· the substance → the emotion · the container → X (the body/the heart) · the container covered by the substance → X covered by the emotion		
SHAME IS EXPOSURE	14	3.05	130	3.57	4	3.05	**11.72**
	X makes X's shame visible · reveal shame (19) · X shows shame to Y(27) · uncover shame (5) · evince shame (2) X's shame intentionally made visible by Y · name and shame (9) · publicly shamed (14) · publicize shame (2) · Facebook shame wall (1) · Y makes X do the walk of shame (4) · Y puts X on the wall of shame (3) Neutral · stigma (16) · mark of shame (14) · badge of shame (4) · naked with shame (10)				- being exposed to others/the public → being in shame/shamed - methods of X exposing X to others/the public → methods of X revealing X's shame - methods of Y making X exposed to others/the public → methods of Y shaming X the signs of being exposed to others/the public → the signs of being in shame/shamed		
SHAME IS DIRT	7	2.55	60	1.65	3	2.29	**6.49**

	· clean shame (11) · dirty shame (16) · purge the shame (4) · stain of shame (14) · stained by shame (6) · filthy shame (8) · soap away shame (1)				· the dirt → the emotion · cleaning the dirt → cleaning X from shame · the signs of the dirt → the signs of the emotion		
Conceptual metaphors that highlight the intensity of the emotion							
SHAME IS HEAT (FIRE AND LIGHT)	18	6.57	101	2.77	8	6.1	**15.44**
	· melt in shame (heat) (3) · radiate shame (heat) (5) · stew in shame (heat) (3) · steaming breast with shame (1) · burn red with shame (fire) (6) · shame burns down to the soles of feet (fire) (1) · shame burns skin (fire) (6) · shame burns X up (fire) (9) · heart burns with shame (fire) (3) · shame burns cheeks (fire) (6) · face is on fire with shame (fire) (14) · face burns with shame (fire) (15) · burning shame (fire) (8) · scorch of shame (fire) (1) · flame with shame (fire) (5) · shame flares up (fire) (3) · flash of shame (light) (8)				· the fire → the emotion · the intensity of the fire → the intensity of the emotion · the actions of the fire → what the emotion does · the characteristics of the fire → the characteristics of shame · X ceases to exist because of the (heat of) the fire → X ceases to exist because of (the intensity of) shame · the light → the emotion · the light flashing/glimmering → the emotion of the person visible to others · the person radiating heat → the person radiating shame		

	· glimmer of shame (light) (4)						
TOTAL	**274**			**3643**	**131**		

Table 18: The conceptual metonymies of SHAME in the Indian English database

Conceptual Metonymies	**Types of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression type frequency (%)**	**Tokens of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression token frequency (%)**	**Types of metonymical mappings (#)**	**Metonymical mapping type frequency (%)**	**The salience of conceptual metonymies (%)**
PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
INCREASED BODY HEAT FOR SHAME	8	22.86	72	23.92	1	10	**56.78**
	· go red in shame (18) · burst into sweat in shame (2) · blush of shame (5) · face colored with shame (7) · flush with shame (4) · face hot with shame (19) · red with shame (15) · cheeks turn red with shame (2)				body heat → emotion		
PHYSICAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
SHRINK IN SIZE FOR SHAME	1	2.86	1	0.33	1	10	**13.19**
	· face shrinks in shame (1)				physical response → emotion		
DOWNWARD ORIENTATION FOR SHAME	8	22.86	49	16.28	1	10	**49.14**
	· hang face in shame (5)				physical response →		

	· hang head in shame (7) · head goes down in shame (3) · head bent down in shame (8) · lower head in shame (14) · drop head down in shame (6) · bow head in shame (5) · heads are below the shoulders in shame (1)				emotion		
DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING FOR SHAME	1	2.86	1	0.33	1	10	**13.19**
	· shame colors one's tones (1)				physical response → emotion		
BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
WITHDRAWAL FOR SHAME	3	8.57	30	9.97	1	10	**28.54**
	· leave in shame (8) · withdraw in shame (21) · X runs away out of shame (1)				behavioral response → emotion		
HIDING THE BODY/THE FACE FOR SHAME	4	11.43	60	19.93	1	10	**41.36**
	· bury head in shame (12) · X hides head in shame (11) · hide away in shame (18) · hide face in shame (19)				behavioral response → emotion		
DYING FOR SHAME	4	11.43	53	17.06	1	10	**38.49**
	· die in shame (19) · die out of shame (5) · X kills him/herself out of				behavioral response → emotion		

	shame (11) · die with shame (18)						
CRYING FOR SHAME	2	5.71	17	5.65	1	10	**21.36**
	· cries of shame (11) · weep in shame (6)				behavioral response → emotion		
BITE THE TONGUE FOR SHAME	1	2.86	1	0.33	1	10	**13.19**
	· X bites/sticks out tongue for shame (1)				behavioral response → emotion		
CAUSE OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION							
CAUSE OF THE EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION	3	8.57	17	5.65	1	10	**24.22**
	· dope shame (5) · fat shame (6) · body shame (6)				cause → emotion		
TOTAL	**35**		**301**		**10**		

Table 19: The conceptual metonymies of SHAME in the American English database

Conceptual Metonymies	**Types of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression type frequency (%)**	**Tokens of linguistic expressions (#)**	**Linguistic expression token frequency (%)**	**Types of metonymical mappings (#)**	**Metonymical mapping type frequency (%)**	**The salience of conceptual metonymies (%)**
PHYSIOLOGICAL RESPONSE TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
INCREASED BODY HEAT FOR SHAME	21	29.17	173	34.33	1	7.14	**70.64**
	· face goes red with shame				body heat → emotion		

	(27) · blush of shame (12) · flush with shame (6) · sweat with shame (13) · skin grows hot with shame (3) · redden with shame (1) · face is pink with shame (2) · cheeks are red with shame (19) · chest hot with shame (6) · sweat in shame (4) · X's neck goes red with shame (5) · hot shame (21) · warm shame (14) · hot tears of shame (5) · the heat of shame (16) · face purples by shame (2) · red shame (13) · hotness of shame (1) · the color of shame rises high in X's face and forehead (1) · hot streak of shame (1) · hot prickles of shame (1)						
SHIVER FOR SHAME	7	9.72	40	7.94	1	7.14	**24.8**
	· shiver (11) · quake in shame (2) · shudder (1) · goose-pimply with shame (2) · frozen in shame (7) · tremble (8) · quiver (9)				shiver → emotion		

PHYSICAL REACTION TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
SHRINK IN SIZE FOR SHAME	3	4.17	8	1.59	1	7.14	**12.9**
	· hunch with shame (1) · flinch with shame (1) · cringe with/in shame (6)				shrink in size → emotion		
DOWNWARD ORIENTATION FOR SHAME	7	9.72	56	11.12	1	7.14	**27.98**
	· bow head (9) · hang head (25) · drop head (3) · head slumps (1) · hold one's head down (6) · look down in shame (10) · put head down (2)				downward orientation → emotion		
INABILITY TO BREATHE FOR SHAME	2	2.78	5	0.93	1	7.14	**10.85**
	· hardly breathe from shame (3) · be breathless (2)				inability to breathe → emotion		
DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING FOR SHAME	2	2.78	8	1.59	1	7.14	**11.51**
	· voice heavy with shame (2) · speechless in shame (6)				difficulty in speaking → emotion		
BEHAVIORAL REACTION TO THE EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION							
FACIAL EXPRESSION FOR SHAME	2	2.78	7	1.39	1	7.14	**11.31**
	· shamefaced (6) · wince with shame (1)				facial expression → emotion		
WAYS OF LOOKING FOR SHAME	5	6.94	13	2.58	1	7.14	**16.66**

	· avert one's eyes (1) · lower gaze in shame (2) · look away in shame (6) · inability to look at each other for shame (3) · glance away ashamed (1)				ways of looking → emotion		
WITHDRAWAL FOR SHAME	7	9.72	58	11.5	1	7.14	**28.36**
	· flee in shame (8) · leave in shame (14) · run away in shame (12) · withdraw in shame (13) · run off in shame (9) · slink away in shame (1) · duck away in shame (1)				leaving → emotion		
HIDING THE BODY/THE FACE FOR SHAME	3	4.17	59	11.7	1	7.14	**23.01**
	· hide in shame (21) · hide away in shame (23) · hide face in shame (15)				hiding → emotion		
DYING FOR SHAME	2	2.78	18	3.57	1	7.14	**13.49**
	· die of shame (16) · hang oneself for shame (2)				dying → emotion		
INSANE BEHAVIOR FOR SHAME	3	4.17	8	1.59	1	7.14	**12.9**
	· dizzy with shame (6) · crazy with shame (1) · go mad in shame (1)				insane behavior → emotion		
CRYING FOR SHAME	4	5.56	32	6.35	1	7.14	**19.05**
	· cry in shame (16) · tears of shame (5) · weep with shame (8)				crying → emotion		

	· sob in shame (3)						
CAUSE OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION							
CAUSE OF EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION	4	5.56	19	3.77	1	7.14	**16.47**
	· body shame (5) · minority shame (3) · fat shame (7) · single-mom shame (4)				cause → emotion		
TOTAL	**72**		**504**		**14**		